

Javan, Karim (2018) Qiyama in Ismaili History : A study on the "Proclamation of Resurrection" in Alamut and its historical context. PhD thesis. SOAS University of London. <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/30269>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

Qiyāma in Ismaili History

A study on the “Proclamation of Resurrection” in
Alamūt and its historical context

Karim Javan

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2018

Department of Religions and Philosophies

SOAS, University of London

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to all the people who have supported me throughout my research. I should particularly thank both of my supervisors Dr Heidi Walcher, Jan Peter Hartung and Konrad Hirschler. I should also thank my colleagues at The Institute of Ismaili Studies, such as Dr Badakhchani, Dr Ali-de- Unzaga, Dr Momin and Dr Daftary for their support either in providing me with resources or through their constructive discussions about my area of research. I extend my sincere gratitude to my colleagues Dr Stephen Burge and Dr Isabel Miller who read my theses carefully and gave me many constructive comments. And finally I would like to thank my wife, Beheshteh for all the sacrifices she has made so that I could accomplish this project.

Abstract

This project studies the circumstances and the reasons behind the event of “the Proclamation of Resurrection” in 1164 A.C in Alamūt, Persia. Using many primary sources of the Ismaili community, some introduced for the first time along with the available historiography of the time, the above event is investigated from different historical and doctrinal aspects. The aim of this research is to understand what political and theological reasons played a role in the initiation of this event, and what consequences it brought for the Nizārī Ismailis in Iran. This event will be put in its historical and intellectual context and the related literature will be compared with the previous examples similar to this event such as the Fatimids, the Qarāmiṭa and the Druze. The remaining texts by the Ḥasan II as the architect of the “Proclamation of the Qiyāma” are introduced and explained based on newly discovered materials. Furthermore, the impact of this event on the literature produced during the Alamūt period by Nizārīs is also examined. By comparing the Proclamation events in all of the discussed traditions, we notice that similar patterns in all of them are repeated. Despite different consequences of the Proclamation of the Qiyāma for the Nizārī Ismailis, they could continue their tradition by introducing new reforms to the doctrine, which could made it closer to the popular mystical traditions of Muslim world.

Table of Contents

Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis	2
Acknowledgments	3
Abstract.....	4
Table of Contents.....	5
Note on transliteration and use of terms.....	10
Introduction.....	11
Literature Review	14
Ismaili Primary Sources.....	18
Unpublished Manuscripts	21
Non-Ismaili Primary Sources	22
Methodology.....	24
Messianism in Islam	27
The Qiyāma and the Sharī'a.....	31
Astrological Predictions of the Qiyāma.....	33
The Early Models in Ismaili History	36
1. The Rise of the Qā'im-Mahdīs and the Apocalyptic expectations of Early Ismaili <i>Da'wa</i>	39
1.1 The Ismaili <i>da'wa</i> in Persia	47
1.2 The Fatimid Mahdī and Postponing the Qiyāma	52

1.3 ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī’s Challenges in North Africa	54
1.4 Later Reconstruction of the Fatimids’ Origins	57
1.5 ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī and the Qiyāma	59
1.6 Qiyāma in the Fatimid Literature	61
1.7 Rival Mahdīs during the Fatimid Era	66
2. The Qarāmiṭa and the False Qā’im	71
2.1 The Proclamation of the Qiyāma	74
2.2 Challenges of the New Era	75
2.3 The Qarmaṭī Practices during the Qiyāma Era	76
2.4 The Description of al-Aḥsā’	77
2.5 Key Points in Nāṣir-i Khusraw’s Account	79
3. The Druze and Ending the Sharī’a	84
3.1 Historical Overview	86
3.2 Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh and his Apocalyptic Zeal	88
3.3 Al-Ḥākim and his Attempt to Establish Social Justice	90
3.4 Beginning of the New <i>Da‘wa</i>	92
3.5 Ideological Origins of the Druze	94
3.6 Druze Doctrinal Reforms	97
4. The Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt	101
4.1 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the First Trumpet Blast	102
4.2 The Doctrine of Ta‘līm	105
4.2.A The Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn	106
4.2.B Summary of the Letter	108
4.3 The Relationship between the Doctrines of Ta‘līm and Qiyāma	110

4.4 Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II), and the Proclamation of the Qiyāma	112
4.5 The Nizārīs’ Military Success Prior to Ḥasan II’s Reign.....	115
4.6 Ḥasan II as the Imām-Qā’im	118
4.7 Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the Return to the Sharī’a Era.....	123
5. Qiyāma in Syria.....	128
5.1 The Syrian Nizārīs, an Overview.....	129
5.2 Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān	131
5.3 Qiyāma in Syrian Literature.....	133
5.4 The Guyard Fragments of <i>Fuṣūl</i>	134
5.5 Conclusion.....	138
6. Qiyāma Literature (1): Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and His <i>Fuṣūl</i>	140
6.1 Ideological Innovations in the <i>Fuṣūl</i>	142
6.2 Ḥasan II’s Letter to Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr	143
6.3 Translation.....	145
1. The descriptions of the Qiyāma in the Qur’ān have an esoteric meaning.	152
2. The esoteric meaning is in the possession of the Imām	153
3. The Qiyāma is a spiritual awakening before the physical death.	153
4. The prophets are present in the Qiyāma through their Sharī’as.....	153
5. The Qiyāma is the world of <i>ta’wīl</i> and <i>waḥdat</i> (Unity)	154
6.4 Qiyāma versus Sharī’a	155
6.5 Ghazālī’s Answers to Questions asked by the Ismailis in Hamadān.....	161
6.6 Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the Return to the Sharī’a Era.....	164
7. Qiyāma Literature (2): <i>Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt</i> and Celebration of the Qiyāma.....	168

7.1 Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's Origins.....	172
7.2 Transfer to Alamūt.....	173
7.3 References to 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and the Qiyāma Declaration.....	176
7.4 No mention of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (<i>Naw-Musalmān</i>).....	180
7.5 Historical values of <i>Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt</i>	181
7.6 Qiyāma in the <i>Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt</i>	183
7.7 Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's Predictions (<i>wa'da-hā</i>)	187
7.8 The Turmoil of the End of Time (<i>fitna-yi ākhir al-Zamān</i>)	189
7.9 Poem No. 124.....	190
7.10 The Nizārīs' Relationship with the Mongols	195
1. The Mongol invasions as the " <i>Fitna-yi Ākhir-zamān</i> "	196
2. The Divine punishment of the Nizārīs' enemies	197
3. Peace with the Mongols.....	198
4. Assassination of the Qā'ān	200
5. The Assassination of Chagatai, Genghis Khān's elder son	203
7.11 Reflection of Local Politics in the <i>Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt</i>	205
Conclusion	216
Main Outcomes	222
Bibliography	225
Primary Sources.....	226
Secondary Sources.....	230
Articles.....	235
Dissertations	237
Manuscripts	237

Image 1.....	239
Image 2.....	240
Image 3.....	241
Appendix 1: <i>Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ's Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn</i>	242
Appendix 2: <i>Ḥasan II's Letter to Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr</i>	247

Note on transliteration and use of terms

- The transliteration used in this thesis is based on the method of the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam with minor adjustments.
- Terms such as Sharīʿa, Qāʾim, Mahdī and Qiyāma are written in capital letter and non-italic.
- Certain foreign terms such as Ismaili, Fatimid, Abbasid, Iraq and Seljuk that have been normalized in English are not transliterated and the accepted Latin form is used.
- ʿAbdullāh is used instead of ʿAbd Allāh, Shahrastānī instead of Shahrastānī, Muskūya instead of Miskawayh, Zakarūya instead of Zakrawayh, Sajistānī instead of Sijistānī.
- When the Mahdī is used as a concept, it is recorded only the Mahdī, but when referring to ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī, al-Mahdī is used to differentiate them from each other.

In the case of the Qurʾanic quotations, Yusuf Ali's translation of the Qurʾān is used.

Introduction



Ismaili history has been shaped by multiple uprisings under the influence of messianic ideas in its earliest periods over a large geographical region, extending from North Africa to Central Asia. The core idea of these uprisings was to give back the leadership of the Muslim community to legitimate people from the progeny of the Prophet Muḥammad, as the sole possessors of the true interpretation of the Sharī'a of Islam. Ismailis as an important division of the Shī'a branch of Islam, believe in the continuation of the Imāma or religious leadership in the family of the Prophet Muḥammad. As a minority, they did not accept the religious and political authority of the Sunnī Caliphate, and for this reason often were persecuted by Sunnī rulers. Therefore, the idea of a Mahdī or Qā'im who will bring justice and prosperity at the final era of "Qiyāma" (Resurrection) became a source of inspiration for the deprived masses in Muslim communities. As a result, the Ismailis fostered this concept as a means of recruiting followers in support of their religio-political movement, which established various states that survived for centuries.

From the outset of the Ismaili *da'wa*, before the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate in North Africa in 297/910, to the end of the Nizārī state of Alamūt in Persia in 654/1256, the apocalyptic idea of the Qiyāma played a significant role in shaping the emerging Ismaili states and communities. Throughout these centuries, this idea evolved and acquired new theological and spiritual dimensions. The most significant instance of the development of this concept in the Nizārī tradition was the "Proclamation of the Resurrection" or "*i'lām-i qiyāmat*" by Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, or Ḥasan II in 559/1164 who initiated the new era of the

Qiyāma in Alamūt.¹ This study is mainly focussed on this event. However, to put this event in its historical context, previous cases in Ismaili history which were inspired by the concept of the Qiyāma are also discussed.

The Qiyāma Proclamation symbolizes the transformation of the Nizārī Ismaili community from the theological discourse of Ta'lim in the *satr* (occultation) era to the new discourse of the Qiyāma in the era of *kashf*. This event became the inauguration of the new era of *kashf* (disclosure) in which the Imām-Qā'im reappeared among his followers, and revealed the inner meaning of religion. The controversies at the later stages of the new era proved that the new practice seemed radical not only to the outside world, but to some layers of the Nizārī community as well. Considering these consequences, what were the benefits of this proclamation for the Nizārīs? Was the proclamation purely religious and spiritual, or rather political goals were the main driving forces behind it? These are some of the questions that this study will address to find answers.

Different scholars have different arguments as to the reasons behind the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt. Marshal Hodgson in *The Order of Assassins* writes that the Proclamation of the Qiyāma was an admission of the failure of the Nizārī struggle to take over the Islamic world.² This idea seems to have been accepted by Farhad Daftary in his monumental work, *The Ismailis, their History and Doctrines*.³ Throughout this thesis, this interpretation of the event is examined and the attempt is made to prove the opposite. According to the evidence presented here, it will be argued that the Proclamation of the Qiyāma was the result of military and political success in the regions of Daylam and Quhistān in the early periods of the Nizārīs state, which brought them the confidence and optimism that made possible the declaring the era of the Qiyāma.

The Qiyāma era was terminated by another Nizārī Imām a few decades after the proclamation of the Qiyāma, when Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, known as Naw Musalmān (Ḥasan III) (r. 607-618/1210-1221) and the second Imām after Ḥasan II announced the end of the Qiyāma era, and formally declared that the Nizārīs should follow the Sharī'a obligations according to Sunnī Islam. This event posed many questions about the nature of these decisions. Was this new position of

¹ Juwaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik, *Tārīkh-i Jahangushāy*, ed. Qazwīnī Mīrzā Muḥammad, 3 vols, Leiden, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 227.

² Hodgson, Marshal, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs Against the Islamic World*, Mouton, 1955, p. 157.

³ Daftary, Farhad, *The Ismā'īlīs, Their History and Doctrines*, University of Cambridge, 2007, p. 360.

ending the Qiyāma era a result of internal politics and disagreement among the Ismailis following the proclamation of the Qiyāma, or it was solely, as it is normally believed, for territorial and political advantages that Ḥasan III was aiming to gain from his Sunnī rivals in Ṭabaristān and Baghdad? The new materials that have been found in unpublished sources, highlight some serious internal disagreements and dissatisfaction in the Nizārī community which could be one of the possible causes for ending the Qiyāma era.

Literature Review

Ismaili studies in the twentieth century starts with the works of Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970). Before him, there were scattered studies on the Fatimids or what were generally referred to as “Assassins”, by people like Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), Louis Massignon (1883–1962) and others. However, their sources were limited to either works written by Sunnī Arabs who had strong anti Shīʿa-Ismaili position and treated them as heretics, or European medieval sources originating from the Crusade accounts.⁴ W. Ivanow who became closely involved with the learned circles of the Ismaili community in India and Iran, published many Ismaili texts which opened a window on to Ismaili studies. There were few scholars from the Bohra Ismaili community, such as Asaf A. A. Fyzee (1899–1981), Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī (1901–1962) and Zāhid ʿAlī (1888–1958), who published some manuscripts from their own private collections, belonging mainly to the Fatimid period. There were two other Ismaili scholars who were from the Syrian community, Muṣṭafā Ghālib (1923–1981) and ʿĀrif Tāmir (1921–1998), who published some important works on history and philosophy, mainly of the Fatimid period.⁵ These publications have been very important in providing access to the original Ismaili sources for later scholarship in the field of Ismaili Studies.

Access to Ismaili literature changed the course of Ismaili studies and resolved many ambiguities in Ismaili history and ideas. Among those whose works on the early Ismaili history or the period of first concealment have been immensely instrumental is Wilfred Madelung. Another important figure who has published several works on Ismaili theology or

⁴ Daftary, Farhad, *Ismāʿīlī Literature, A Bibliography of Sources and Studies*, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London, 2004, p. 92.

⁵ Ibid., p. 94.

rather theosophy is Henry Corbin (1903-1978). Apart from critical editions of the *Kashf al-mahjūb* of Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sajistānī and *Jāmi‘ al-ḥikmatayn* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, his *Cyclical Time in the Ismaili Gnosis* presents an in-depth study of Ismaili philosophy. Alongside Henry Corbin, scholars such as Paul Walker and Heinz Halm also worked on different ideological and philosophical aspects of the Ismailis in the formation period of the community. These works will be used in this study for presenting an overview of the history of the concept of the Qiyāma in the Ismaili tradition.

On the history of the Nizārīs, the most famous work by a Western academic is by Marshal G.S. Hodgson (1922-1968) published under the title of *The Secret Order of Assassins* in 1955. His work was followed by other scholars such as Bernard Lewis who (in 1967) tried to present a less biased account of this movement using some internal sources from different Ismaili communities. However, the main credit should be given to Farhad Daftary for his monumental work, *The Ismailis, Their History and Doctrine* (Cambridge, 1990-2007), which presents a comprehensive study of all periods of Ismaili history and their different divisions throughout history.

There are also works in other languages, such as Persian and Russian, on the Ismailis which are worth mentioning here. Among the works in Russian are those of Aleksandr A. Semenov (1873-1958) who prepared a catalogue of Persian manuscripts collected from the Badakhshan region. This catalogue contains numerous Nizārī and Fatimid texts preserved by the Central Asian Ismaili community. A. E. Bertels also wrote few works on the intellectual heritage of Ismailis and their doctrines, particularly in the works of Nāṣir-i Khusraw. The Russians had a particular interest in the history of the Ismailis as they considered them the first Muslim socialist movement which fitted perfectly into the general ideological framework of Communism.⁶

Ismaili scholarship in Persian is mainly limited to the studies on the Ismaili poets such as Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Nizārī Quhistānī. In this area of study, we should mention Mahdī Muḥaqqiq, Muṭtabā Mīnuwī, Ghulām Rizā A‘wānī and Maṣāḥir Muṣaffā. However, those who have done studies on history of the Mongols or Seljuks, due to the importance of the Ismailis, have dedicated a chapter to the Nizārī Ismailis as well. The most important of them is the *Dīn wa dawlat* published *dar Irān-i ‘ahd-i mughul* in three volumes by Shīrīn Bayānī of which the

⁶ Petrushevsky, I. P., *Islām dar Iran*, Persian translation by Karim Kishāwarz, Intishārāt-i Payām, Tehran, 1351/1972, p. 252.

first volume was published in 1370/1991. There are also chapters dedicated to Ismailis in the works dealing with messianic uprisings during and after the Mongol invasions. Among these works we can mention what Muḥammad Rafī Ḥaqīqat wrote under the title of *Tārīkh-i junbishhā-yi -yi madhhabī dar Irān* in which he has discussed the Ismaili uprisings in the medieval periods in 1375-6/1996-7. A similar work was written by Abu al-Faḍl Nabaʿī, called *Tārīkh-i nihṣathā-yi siyāsī wa madhhabī-i Irān*, published by the University of Mashhad in 1376/1997.

Apart from these works, there is one outstanding dissertation by Maryam Muʿizzī on the post-Alamūt history of the Nizārīs, assembles valuable records of historical places and documents from the Ismailis of Iran. Her PhD dissertation is a study on the history of Badakhshān which also presents valuable information about the Nizārīs in the Central Asia.

Specifically on the issue of Ismaili eschatology and the Qiyāma in Ismaili history, there have not been many works hitherto. One of the first works published on this topic is an article by Jorunn J. Buckley in 1984 under the title of *The Nizārī Ismāʿīlites' Abolishment of the Sharīʿa during the 'Great Resurrection' of 1164 A.D. / 559 A.H.* Buckley goes through the event of the “Great Resurrection” in Alamūt and concludes that this event was a symbol of the spiritual defeat of the Nizārīs. Another work is the introduction to an edition of Khwāja Naṣīr Ṭūsī's *Rawḍat al-taslīm (Taṣawwurat)* which is a PhD dissertation by S. J. Badakhchani at the University of Oxford in 1989.⁷ In this study, he discusses the Proclamation of the Qiyāma and its theological interpretation according to some passages from Ḥasan II, quoted in the *Rawḍa*. He also includes a copy of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's doctrine of Taʿlīm with a translation and critical analysis. The text of the *Rawḍa* was published under the title of *The Paradise of Submission* in 2005 by Badakhchani with an introduction by Herman Landolt and a commentary on the content of the work by Christian Jambet. Jambet has a considerable monograph on the topic of the Qiyāma in French under the title of *La Grande Résurrection d'Alamūt* published in 1990. In this work he argues that the Qiyāma Proclamation of Alamūt was a manifestation of the eternal religion. He has tried to support his arguments by using materials from the Nizārīs of Alamūt

⁷ This book was published in 2005. However, the introduction was not published for some reason and it was replaced with a new introduction written by a different person.

period as well as the Qarmaṭī and the Yemeni Ismaili traditions.⁸ However, his access to the Nizārī sources was limited to printed materials.

In 2017, Badakhchani published a new edition of *Haft-bāb* by Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd based on number of new manuscript copies of the work under the title of *Spiritual Resurrection in Shi'i Islam: An Early Ismaili Treatise on the Doctrine of Qiyamat*. As the title suggests, he tries to interpret the event of Qiyāma Proclamation as a solely spiritual event in this book.

Another study which is solely dedicated to the issue of the Qiyāma and Ismaili eschatology is a PhD dissertation at SOAS under the title of *Eschatology and Power in Persian Ismā'īlism* by Delia Cortese, completed in 1993. She also discusses the related literature on this topic from early stages of Ismaili history and studied different aspects of the idea in related historical contexts. She had access to number of unknown works in the Ismaili manuscript collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies. She has tried to study related historical events and aspects of doctrine together. She concludes that forty years after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, the Nizārīs were in a military and internal spiritual crisis. Their desire for regeneration transfused with messianic expectations in the form of the Qiyāma Proclamation as a response to their frustration.

In another work that she presented in a conference under the title of “The Ismā'īlī Resurrection of Alamūt: A Bid for Spiritual Awakening or a Statement of Political Authority”, she examines the doctrine of the Qiyāma in light of an unpublished work called *Tahqīq al-ḥaqā'iq*. Although this *risāla* provides significant insights in understanding the doctrine of the Qiyāma, it seems to be a production of periods after the collapse of Alamūt.

None of these scholars examined any of the important sources related to this topic which were discovered subsequent to their studies. In particular, the scattered passages of Ḥasan II's writings and the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd produced during the Alamūt period and close to the time of the Proclamation are highly valuable. The *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* forms a significant portion of my study, as it contains contemporary perceptions of the Qiyāma by the Nizārīs of the Alamūt period, as well as references to important events after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma.

⁸ Jambet, 1990, p. 72. Quoted from Daftary Farhad, Reviewed work: *La Grande Résurrection d'Alamūt* by Christian Jambet, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Apr. Jun. 1992. No. 2: Vol. 112. - pp. 308-310.

Ismaili Primary Sources

The idea of the Qiyāma and the final era of the Qā'im-Mahdī is an important topic that a chapter is dedicated to in most of Ismaili sources, both in Persian and Arabic during the Fatimid and Nizārī periods. The *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'⁹ are among the earliest texts, which discuss this topic. Later writers such as Sajistānī (d. ca. 361/971), Kirmānī (d. after 411/1021), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/935) and Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 481/1080) also elaborated on this concept in their various works. While the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān do not discuss details of the Qiyāma era, later Ismaili thinkers such as Ibn Ḥawshab and Ja'far Maṣṣūr al-Yaman have extensive passages on the role of the Qā'im and the features of the Qiyāma as the final prophetic era.¹⁰

The interpretation of the Qiyāma generated extensive discussions and controversies among those early Ismaili dā'īs (proselytizers) who are considered to be loyal to the Qarmatī tradition which will be discussed later. Among them, Muḥammad al-Nasaṭī (d. ca. 332/943), the author of *al-Maḥṣūl* who led the early Ismaili proselytizing campaign in Khurāsān known as the Khurāsānī Ismaili school, had interpretation of the Qiyāma era. This interpretation was challenged by later dā'īs such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. The status of the Sharī'a was at the core of their disagreement. The Fatimid dā'īs had different interpretations about certain aspects of the Qiyāma. In particular, regarding the concept of the Qā'im and his role during the Qiyāma era, they took a more conservative position as compared to the Qarāmiṭa. These differences seem to be the results of historical developments in the different regional and political contexts that Ismaili movements evolved in. The establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate brought a variety of challenges for 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī and his successors that resulted in different readings of the character and the role of the Qā'im which sometimes contradicted each other.¹¹ In this study, these regional and political contexts and the influence they had on the respective literature and the idea of the Qiyāma will be discussed.

⁹ Although some may not consider them as Ismailis, it is generally accepted that in their theological framework they are close to Ismailis.

¹⁰ Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far b., *Kitāb al-Kaṣf*, Published for the I.R.A. by Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1952, pp. 52-88.

¹¹ Hamdānī & F. de Blois, A Re-examination of al-Mahdī's Letter to the Yemenites on the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs, *JRAS*, 1983, p. 178.

The most important obstacle in the field of Ismaili studies is the lack of substantial first hand primary sources. Most of the scholars who worked on the history of the Ismailis in the nineteenth and early twentieth century used sources written by opponents of this Muslim tradition. Once scholars from the Ismaili community such as Asaf A. A. Fyzee, H. Hamdani, Zahid Ali and later on 'Ārif Tāmīr and Muṣṭafā Ghālīb began introducing original sources on Ismaili history and doctrines, the course of Ismaili studies remarkably changed. The efforts of this generation of scholars in the field of Ismaili Studies such as W. Ivanow, Henry Corbin (1903-1978), which was later followed by scholars such as W. Madelung, Paul Walker, and finally the works of Farhad Daftary who dedicated his life to research and work on Ismaili history and intellectual traditions opened new horizons in the field of Islamic studies in general and Ismaili studies in particular. However, on the early developments and the formation of the concept, the focus of this research has been above all on re-examination of primary sources such as *al-Sīra* of Ja'far Ḥājib, *Iftitāḥ al-da'wa* of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, and *Istitār al-imām* of al-Naysābūrī, which were made available to us through the endeavours of scholars such as Ivanow, Hamdānī and 'Ārif Tāmīr. The monumental work of the 'Uyūn al-akhbār by Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468) one of the dā'īs of Yemen, includes first-hand account of the early stages of the Ismaili *da'wa* that resulted in the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate, as well as the details of the history of the Ismaili community in Yemen.

The problem of internal sources is more noticeable in the case of the Nizārī Ismaili tradition which is the focus of the study here. Most of the sources produced by the Nizārīs themselves have either been destroyed or have not come down to us. However, some of the information which was used in the works of those historiographers who had access to those sources shows that the Nizārīs had a particular interest in historiography. Even the fierce critics of the Nizārīs like 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī who considered them to be heretics acknowledged that the library of Alamūt was one of the most famous libraries at that time.¹² However, most of these books did not survive. Nevertheless, the Nizārīs did not produce the same level of works as their Fatimid counterparts due to the circumstances under which they operated. This makes the surviving materials of this period even more valuable.

There are number of Nizārī doctrinal sources produced during the Alamūt period (483/1090 – 654/1256) which are the foundation of a significant portion of this study. The most important of them are Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's works such as *Rawḍat al-taslīm*, also known as

¹² Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy*, Vol. 3, p. 269.

Taṣawwurāt, and his autobiography *Sayr wa sulūk*, in which he presented his interpretation of the Qiyāma as well as some valuable quotations from Ḥasan II. Ṭūsī wrote another important book on his interpretation of Nizārī principles, namely *Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn* in which he presents a modified reading of the Qiyāma. Apart from Ṭūsī, there is another prolific writer of the Alamūt period called Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, who was very close to Ṭūsī and was the “compiler” (*jāmi'*) of *Rawḍat al-taslīm*.¹³ His first work, which contains important materials about the concept and the event of the Qiyāma, is *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*. This work is in fact the introduction to his first *Dīwān*, which is lost and as the current title suggests, it has always been attributed wrongly to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, probably because of the similarity of their names. His second work is *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, which was written 60 years after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma, on the celebration of this event and his understanding of this era, covering the years between 620/1223 to 645/1246. It also includes valuable references to many historical events during the Alamūt period which were significant in his eyes and contributed to the era of the Qiyāma.¹⁴ Although some of his historical accounts in his *Dīwān* are not supported by other historiographical sources from this age, in this study the general perception of the events that he tries to present is more important than the actual events. Apart from these works, he compiled a history of the Nizārīs which is lost, but Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 717/1318) and Kāshānī (d. ca. 738/1337) mention this source in their histories, and quote very detailed material on Nizārī history.¹⁵

There are important passages on the Qiyāma by different Lords of Alamūt scattered in number of Ismaili works published so far by previous scholars. These passages are mostly written by or attributed to Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II). These passages are usually referred to as “*Fuṣūl-i muqaddas*”¹⁶ or “*mubārak*” (the sacred passages). The complete text of the *Fuṣūl*, which was written on different aspects of Nizārī doctrines and ethics, was not survived as whole. Scattered fragments of these passages are quoted in different texts remaining from the Alamūt period or later, such as *Rawḍat al-taslīm* by Ṭūsī (attributed), *Haft bāb* by Abū Ishāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā* by Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, as well as Khayr-khwāh Harātī's *Taṣnīfāt*. The materials in these works of various Nizārī authors can shed light on the

¹³ Ṭūsī, *Paradise of Submission*, ed & tr. by Dr. Sayyed Jalal Hossaini Badakhshani, I.B. Tauris, in association with IIS, London, 2005, p. 170.

¹⁴ This work, which was found recently, was edited by S. J. Badakhchani, and published in Tehran with an introduction by Shafī'ī Kadkanī in 2011.

¹⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh; qismat-i Ismā'īlīyān wa Nizārīyān wa dā'īyān wa rafīqān*, ed. Rawshan M., Mīrāth-i Maktūb Pub., Tehran, 1387/2008, p. 151.

¹⁶ Generally in the Nizārī literature of this period, the decrees of the Imāms are called “*ḥaṣl*”.

ambiguities of the doctrine of the Qiyāma in its Nizārī interpretation as they give us first-hand information about the way the Qiyāma was understood and defined by Ḥasan II.

Unpublished Manuscripts

There are also several passages of the *Fuṣūl* in different unpublished manuscripts available in the library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, and some other private collections in Iran. Most of these materials are part of written heritage of Ismaili community in the Persian speaking communities in Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. These manuscripts are mostly collections small texts, in poetry or prose which have been used in various rituals or occasions in these communities throughout centuries. Their linguistic features, references to personalities, places and doctrinal concepts are instrumental in identification of these texts as well as determining how authentic they are for this research.

The most important of these materials is a letter by Ḥasan II which was newly found entitled “*Jawāb-i su’āl-i Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr*” (Reply to the Question of Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr). In this letter, sent to a particular person called Kiyā Shāh, Ḥasan II tried to answer all the questions raised by Kiyā Shāh on the issue of the Qiyāma and its interpretation, based on the Qur’ān and the Ḥadīth. A copy of this letter has survived in a manuscript containing number of Ṭūsī’s works in University of Tehran. This letter is wrongly attributed to Ṭūsī.¹⁷ There are number of factors that prove this attribution wrong and confirm Ḥasan II as the real author. First of all, the language and the rhetoric in the letter suggest that the attribution to Ṭūsī is not accurate. Further, the author of the letter considers himself to be the author of the *Fuṣūl* and refers his addressee to the *Fuṣūl* and what he has written before on the issue. Above all, the ideas in this letter are in many respects in contrast to Ṭūsī’s belief which is found in his works written during his stay in the Nizārī castles. Therefore, one must conclude that it could not have been written by Ṭūsī. This source is not only important for the study of Ḥasan II’s interpretation of the Qiyāma doctrine, it is also a significant witness to the questions raised after this event by members of the Nizārī community.

Another text that will be introduced here is a letter by Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ that was sent to the ‘Ulamā’ of Qazwīn. Since Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ’s role as the initiator of the first “Trumpet Blast”

¹⁷ MS 8211, dated 1180/1766.

(*nāfikh-i šūr-i awwal*) is important in our discussion of the Qiyāma era, this newly found letter containing his famous doctrine of Ta'lim is also included in our study. This letter was edited based on two manuscript copies; one in the Central Library of Tehran University and the other in the collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. Although the main body of these two copies are the same, there are some extra information in the copy of Tehran (introduced here as MS T) which are explained in light of what we already know about the life of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ.

Some of the passages of the *Fuṣūl* used in this research come from a group of manuscripts containing scattered texts from Alamūt period. Two of these manuscripts come from Badakhshān in Afghanistan and another from Iran. These manuscripts (B50 & B64) were copied during the 18th century and are with many mistakes in language and sometimes omitted parts. The manuscript that comes from Iran has many similarities with those of Badakhshān. Although this manuscript contains more accurate texts linguistically, it lacks some of key texts available in the Badakhshān collection. These manuscripts provide significant information in areas of Ismaili doctrines and history. Some of the texts in these sources will be edited and published in independent publications. Some quotations from them related to this research were used here where appropriate. The codicological information of these manuscripts are detailed when the actual texts are discussed.

These sources show a clear disconnect between the Alamūt literature and the Fatimid literature. The writings of Ḥasan II and his successors during the Alamūt period show that they put aside the philosophical language of the Fatimids and adopted a simple language, which was close to the language of the Sufis prevalent in Iran rather than that of the Fatimid Ismaili writers. This change of approach will be explained in more detail in the first chapter where the doctrines of Ta'lim and Qiyāma are discussed.

Non-Ismaili Primary Sources

Most of the information available in the major historiographical sources and chronologies from the time of this study are not comprehensive and also generally hostile to the Nizārīs. However, they provide substantial information that is not found in the Nizārī sources. The most important of them is *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* (the History of the World Conqueror) by 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī (d. 681/1283), who accompanied Hulāgū on his campaign against Alamūt and

Baghdad in 654/1256 – 656/1258. He states that he was able to gain access to the Ismaili sources in the Alamūt library and collected what he thought was worth saving, and considered the rest of the library to the fire.¹⁸ The other historian who has an extensive account of the Nizārīs is the famous Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318), the official Ilkhānid historian and vizier. His *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* contains more detailed information about the Nizārīs than the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy*, which shows he had access to internal Nizārī sources that Juwaynī either did not, or did not use in his history.

Many other chroniclers who have written on Nizārīs in their histories have used these two main sources, apart from any independent sources that they had at their disposal. Historians such as Abū al-Qāsim Kāshānī (d. ca. 738/1337) in his *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* quotes valuable passages from the discussions between the Nizārīs and their opponents on their theological doctrines and political issues, which have also been used in this study.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. after 740/1339), another historian who worked for the Ilkhānids under Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, wrote about the Ismailis of Alamūt as well as the Fatimids in his *Tārīkh-i guzīda*. He also produced a versified history called the *Ẓafarnāma*, in which he follows the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī (d. 416/1021) in form and style.¹⁹ It seems that he presents more information on different issues here, however we do not know how much of his detailed information is based on his sources and how much is the production of his own imagination.

Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (d. 833/1430) is another historian whose *Majma' al-tawārīkh sulṭāniyya* covered the Nizārī history. He served at the Timurid court and mainly used the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* and the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* as his sources. Among the other historians who wrote about Nizārī Ismailis are Muḥammad b. Khwāwandshāh, known as Mīrkhwānd (d. 903/1498), the author of *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, and Mīrkhwānd's grandson, Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Khwāndmīr (d. 942/1535–36) the author of *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Another important source that was written by an author contemporary with the Nizārīs of Alamūt used in this research is the *Ṭabaqāt nāṣirī* of Minhāj-i Sirāj al-Jawzjānī (b. 589/1193). He has valuable account of his observations of the Nizārī castles of Quhistān during his visit to this area.

On the early developments of the Ismaili movement there are a number of Arabic sources such as *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* also known as *Tārīkh-i ṭabarī* by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), *al-*

¹⁸ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 270.

¹⁹ L. J. Ward, *The Ẓafar-nāmah of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and the Il-Khān dynasty of Iran*, Ph.D. thesis, 3 vols., University of Manchester, 1983, p. 1.

Fihrist of Ibn Nadīm (d. 385/995), *Tajārib al-umam* of Ibn Muskūya al-Rāzī (d. 421/1030), *Bayān al-Maghrib* of Abu al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn ‘Idhārī (d. 695/1295) and *Nihāyat al-irab* of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (d. 734/1333). These sources contain valuable information about the affairs of the Qarāmiṭa and the Fatimids in their early development and the different confrontations and challenges that they faced in the process of establishing their political and ideological authority in Iraq and North Africa.

Methodology

The main focus of this study is the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt by Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām. The greater section of the work is dedicated to this event, in which different aspects of the Nizārī Qiyāma are discussed in detail. Nevertheless, the study of this event needs to be positioned in its historical context as a continuation of the Ismaili movement starting with the early *da‘wa* activities prior to the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate, because the Qiyāma was the aspirational era from the outset of the *da‘wa*. We may perceive a conceptual evolution of the notion of Qiyāma from the early periods to the time of Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām. In order to examine this conceptual evolution, three similar cases of an apocalyptical nature in Ismaili history before the Nizārīs of Alamūt are examined. The first of these is the rise of Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī at the beginning of the Fatimid Caliphate. The second one is the case of the Qarāmiṭa and their declaration of the Qiyāma. The third case of the Qiyāma prior to the Alamūt Proclamation is the Druze case which is historically and conceptually the closest to the Nizārī case, but with a different outcome. The final chapter is dedicated to the main issue of the study which is the Nizārī Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt. In this chapter, different political and doctrinal aspects of the event are examined. For this purpose, different historical and doctrinal sources are examined and new sources are introduced in support of the arguments.

The contraction and the extraction of the interpretation of the concept of the Qiyāma interpretation in the course of Ismaili history which is presented in the subsequent literature as well as the political decisions of the leadership of all these traditions at key stages of their history provide meaningful insights regarding the function of this concept in creating change and reformation in Ismaili tradition.

In order to achieve this, an attempt has been made to look at not only the related historical accounts, but also the remaining literature on this topic. As a vast range of events and texts are going to be discussed in this study, the historical aspects will be separated from the doctrinal ones. This should not imply that the historical events developed somehow independent from the doctrines, on the contrary, they have been always interconnected, evolving together under mutual influence throughout history. However, in order to avoid disruption in the discussion of historical aspects and to present the argument more clearly, the in-depth assessments of the doctrinal aspects have been shifted to the second part of the study. Nevertheless, when the doctrinal aspect is an integral part of a historical event, it will be briefly discussed too.

The first section of the study is dedicated to different historical phases leading to the Proclamation of the Qiyāma identified as milestones in all the Ismaili traditions. These phases are divided into three: 1. Founding the state of the Qā'im-Mahdī; 2. Proclaiming Qiyāma and ending the *satr* era; 3. Challenges over the identity and the function of the Qā'im-Mahdī. These three phases identified in the Nizārī Proclamation of the Qiyāma at Alamūt are compared to the previous examples in Ismaili history. These examples are the Fatimids, the Qarāmiṭa and the Druze, all of which had similar experiences in their respective histories. Although each of these traditions evolved in their own historical context, and may not share completely similar phases with the Nizārī model, we can identify many commonalities in the broad course of events leading to the new era of Kashf or the Qiyāma.

After examining the historical formation of these traditions, the following phases are identified and discussed in each chapter. In the first phase, preparation of the ground for the reappearance of the Qā'im-Mahdī through proselytization and the endeavours to call more followers to the promised final era is the prime policy. In the case of the Nizārīs, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and his doctrine of Ta'līm acted as the instrument for the final era of the Qā'im-Mahdī, leading to the foundation of the Nizārī state in north of Persia. For this reason, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ is called the first Trumpet Blower (*nāfikh-i šūr-i awwal*). This phase is comparable with the early stages of the Fatimid and Qarmaṭī *da'wa* and the military success of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shīrī in North Africa and Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī in Bahrain. The argument put forward will explain that the success of this phase was instrumental in shaping the final era of the Qiyāma.

The second phase identified in these traditions is the reappearance of the Qā'im-Mahdī and the end of the *satr* era. In this part, the events around emerging the heroic figure of the Qā'im-Mahdī, his identity and the impact of this event on these traditions are discussed. In the case

of the Nizārīs, the dynamic of introducing ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām as the Qā’im-Mahdī and the nature of his claim is explained. In this part, the message of the Qiyāma Proclamation and the features of the new era is explained. The common points between the Nizārīs and the Fatimid, Qarmaṭī and the Druze traditions will be highlighted.

The third phase is the political and theological challenges that followed after the emergence of the Qā’im-Mahdī. All of these traditions experienced similar challenges in this stage. ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī’s right to rule was challenged because doubts were cast over his identity. The same challenges could be identified in the Qarmaṭī and the Druze traditions. These challenges are discussed in more details in the case of the Nizārīs. After the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt, questions were asked regarding the legitimacy of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām as the Imām-Qā’im, as well as the actual proclamation and its theological foundation.

In the second section of the study, the literature of the Qiyāma will be closely discussed. The main goal of this section is to introduce important new texts related to the Nizārī interpretation of the Qiyāma that have not been published before or recently published but have been remained unknown to Western scholarship. The newly identified texts are edited based on the available manuscripts, along with their translation and a discussion of their contents. These new sources provide a significant insight into the understanding of the Qiyāma among the Nizārīs and its evolution throughout the Alamūt period.

Most of the texts introduced and studied here come from manuscript collections in the Ismaili community. A number of them are in the collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, where I have had the opportunity to work on them. There are also texts that were found in public libraries of Iran. Some of these texts have been recorded under different titles and attributed to different authors. The details of these texts along with their codicological information and analysis will be discussed prior to the examination of the text. Some other manuscripts used in this study come from my own family.

The approach to the sources used in this study is within the frameworks of historical and religious studies. The main objective of this project is to understand the meaning of the Qiyāma both as a concept and an era in the Nizārī Ismaili community during the Alamūt period. Therefore, the prime focus will be on Nizārī sources produced in the Alamūt period (483/1090-654/1256). However, this study is not going to ignore non-Nizārī sources. In fact, as far as the historiographical aspects of the work is concerned, there is not much choice among the Nizārī literature, and therefore reliance on the known first-hand and non-Nizārī

sources is inevitable. In dealing with both group of sources, a critical approach is applied so that the account is not biased towards any account.

The genre of poetry is an important source in studying Ismaili tradition, particularly the Nizārī period. Although poetical literature is not used in the historical parts of this work, this genre of literature was not totally discarded when it was identified to be the only available source on certain events related to the topic of the Qiyāma era. To be more specific, in the chapter on the Nizārī literature of the Qiyāma, the poetry in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* occupies a significant place since it provides a context for the idea of the Qiyāma and translates its theological meaning into the historical events and social experience of the Nizārīs in this period. Therefore, the information in this source is very valuable in this context. However, it is evident that exaggeration is an important aspect of Persian poetry, and its information needs to be dealt with care, particularly when there are certain historical claims, the credibility of these claims must be examined by setting them against other sources and see to what extent these accounts were produced for propaganda purposes and to what degree they are based on historical facts. Having said that, in our approach to these sources, the interpretation of an event in the Qiyāma era is more important than the reliability of the account or its historicity.

There are some texts used as primary sources in this study that are introduced for the first time. Texts such as the Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn probably by Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, and the Letter in reply to Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr's Questions by Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām are edited and translated here for the first time. Apart from the editing and translation of these texts, different aspects of their linguistic and rhetorical features are discussed in order to verify the period and the region of their production which are important in authenticating their authorship.

Messianism in Islam

In Islam, the figure called the Messiah in the Christian tradition is generally known as the Mahdī. The identity of the Mahdī is indistinct, but he is believed to be a progeny of the Prophet

Muḥammad.²⁰ There is no mention of the Mahdī in the Qur'an, but there are number of Ḥadīths that refer to him as somebody who will come at the end of the world and bring justice to mankind.²¹ The literal meaning of the "Mahdī" is "the rightly guided", but the general perception of the concept, particularly in its Ismaili sense is very close to the perception of the "Messiah" (*Masīḥ*) in the Christians tradition: the "anointed one", which refers to the tradition of pouring oil on someone who is in charge of the divine office, normally a king that is designated God's representative on earth.²² The concept of the Mahdī is also close to the concept of the "*Sushiyānt*" in the Zoroastrian tradition in ancient Iran. In this tradition, the term *Sushiyānt* refers to three sons of Zarathustra (*Zartusht*) or "saviours" who are born after every millennium during the last three thousand years of the world.²³ It seems that the concept of the Mahdī is somehow closer to the Zoroastrian tradition as it also implies guiding and saving mankind. The concept of the Qā'im as someone who will "rise" and revolt against the establishment seems closer to the Christian tradition. This could be the reason why we have two different terms to refer to the Islamic concept of the Messiah, because it was influenced by two different traditions which shared the same general concept, but gave it different definitions with different emphases.

There is also evidence of such ideas among a number of Arab tribes settled in Iraq after the conquest of Persian Empire. Among them, we can refer to Abū Maṣṣūr al-ʿIjlī from the Bajīla tribe, who claimed to be a prophet. Abū Maṣṣūr who was initially a follower of Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth Shīʿī Imām, believed in the continuation of prophecy. He viewed the religious duties and obligations as representations of the Shīʿī Imāms or *Ahl al-bayt*, which could be nullified by the affiliation of his followers with these figures.²⁴ They are also believed to be influenced by Christians and Persians who had converted to Islam and were known as *mawālīs* in that age.²⁵

The influences of neighbouring traditions on Ismaili millenarian ideas are not limited to these two concepts. The mystical dimensions of Ismaili tradition and its emphasis on the esoteric aspects of religion and the final triumph of the esoteric or *bāṭin* over the exoteric or *ẓāhir* are

²⁰ See "al-Mahdī" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, by W. Madelung.

²¹ Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Mu'assasat al-Wafā', 2nd ed., Beirut, 1403, Vol. 51, p. 78.

²² Aslan, Reza, *Zealot: The Life and Times of Jesus of Nazareth*, Saqi, London, 2013, p. 28.

²³ See *Lughatnāmah Dihkhudā*, under "سوشیانت".

²⁴ Tucker, William F., *Mahdīs and Millenarians: Shī'ite extremists in early Muslim Iraq*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p. 81.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

also among those concepts that are shared in both certain Christian and ancient Iranian traditions. One of the reasons that the opponents of Ismailis always accused them of heresy was the similarity of certain beliefs between them and Iranian traditions such as those of the Khurramdīnīs, Mazdakīs and Pārsīs. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh writes that when the Pārsīs of Daylam and Ādharbāyjān noticed that the Ismailis were gaining power, they inclined towards them. He goes on to say that they believed that the Sharī'a is for the *ẓāhirīs* and there is no *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*.²⁶ Although the opponents of the Nizārīs used such similarities against them to persecute them or declare them heretics for political reasons, the actual similarities cannot be denied.

The idea of emancipation from the obligations of previous legal systems by the arrival of a new prophet is not alien to the Islamic tradition. In a Qur'anic verse, it comes:

“Those who follow the Messenger, the Unlettered Prophet, whom they find mentioned in their own (Scriptures), -in the Law and the Gospel- for He commands them what is just and forbids them what is evil; He allows them as lawful what is good (and pure) and prohibits them from what is bad (and impure); He releases them from their heavy burdens [aghlāl] and from the yokes that are upon them. So it is those who believe in Him, honour Him, help Him, and follow the light which is sent down with Him; it is they who will prosper. (7:157)”

Muslim exegetes are not consistent on the meaning of the term “*aghlāl*”, (heavy burdens) but they have mainly interpreted the term as “*uhūd*” (covenants) and “*mawāthiq*” (conventions) in the Jewish community or Banī Isrā'īl.²⁷ However, there are cases such as that of 'Abd al-Bāqī Zarqānī (d. 1122/1710) who interpreted it as “*takālīf*” or religious obligations.²⁸ The Ismailis have interpreted the burdens (*aghlāl*) as the burdens of the Sharī'a, or *takālīf-i shar'īyya*, something that the Qā'im at the beginning of the final era of the Qiyāma will abrogate.²⁹

Changes to the religious law or Sharī'a has been one of the major differences between the early Ismaili theologians, right at the beginning of the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate

²⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, Faḍl Allāh, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh; qismat-i Ismā'īlīyān wa Nizārīyān wa dā'iyyān wa rafīqān*, ed. Rawshan M., Mīrāth-i Maktūb Pub., Tehran, 1387/2008, p. 149.

²⁷ Ṭabarī, Vol. 13, 1388/1969, p. 166.

²⁸ Zarqānī, Abū 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Bāqī, *Sharḥ al-zarqānī 'alā al-mawāhib al-daniyya bi'l-minaḥ al-muḥammadiyya*, Dār al-Kutub 'Ilmiyya, Bairut, 1417-1996, Vol. 7, p. 452.

²⁹ *Haft bāb-i Abū Ishāq*, ed. W Ivanow, Ismaili Association Publications, Tehran, 1377/1957, p. 53.

and the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrain. The dispute that happened between Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and al-Nasafī was primarily about their interpretation of the Qiyāma and the status of law in this era. The supporters of the Nasafī school such as Sajistānī believed that since there was no Sharī'a during the time of Adam, similarly no Sharī'a will rule during the era of the Qā'im, whereas al-Rāzī adhered to the belief that there has been some kind of the Sharī'a during the era of Adam and therefore the final era of the Qā'im will not be without Sharī'a.³⁰

From another point of view, in the Ismaili tradition, the function of the Mahdī was linked with political change, whereas the function of the Qā'im was understood to be more theological. In different Ismaili traditions discussed in this study, only 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī, the founder of the Fatimid Caliphate became known as the Mahdī. In the rest of the traditions, the initiator of the Qiyāma is known as the Qā'im. While 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī abstained from introducing any new spiritual innovation, in the Qarmaṭī, the Druze and the Nizārī traditions, the primary function of the Qā'im was introducing a new religio-spiritual era and ending the era of the Sharī'a. This difference in function is reflected in the interpretation of the figure of the Qā'im in the works of Sajistānī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī who believed in a depoliticised role for the Qā'im.³¹

There are number of common features in the character of the Qā'im-Mahdīs in the four Ismaili traditions discussed, i.e. the Fatimid, the Qarāmiṭa, the Druze and the Nizārī that provide many insights into the socio-political dynamics of these traditions. The first common feature of the Qā'im-Mahdīs in all these traditions is the reappearance of the hidden Imām and the ending of the Occultation (*satr*) era. During the *satr* era, the Imām lives in secret and his only way of communication with his followers is through his *ḥujja* or representative. With the reappearance of the Imām there is a shift of authority at both the political and the theological level. The transformation of authority is another common feature in them which take place after the reappearance of the Qā'im-Mahdīs. As another form of transformation, there is a shift in the rank of a *ḥujja* or *dā'ī* in such a way that their previous rank is elevated to a higher status of either Imām or Qā'im. This feature has created dispute and controversy among the Ismaili community in all of these traditions, but gradually it has been accepted by them in most cases. The final and the most important of them which could be another aspect of the second feature is the ambiguities over the genealogies of the reappeared Qā'im-Mahdīs. In all

³⁰ Nomoto, Shin, "An Early Ismā'īlī-Shī'ī Thought on the Messianic Figure (the Qā'im) according to al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/933-4)", *Orient*, vol. 44, 2009, p. 30.

³¹ Nomoto, 2009, p. 31.

of these cases, the legitimacy of all these Qā'im-Mahdīs has been challenged in their community and there have been questions over their claim to their new position as the Imām based on their genealogy. All of these common features are discussed individually in this study and the challenges over the authority of these Qā'im-Mahdīs have been examined in detail.

The Qiyāma and the Sharī'a

There is a clear difference in the understanding of the Sharī'a between the Ismailis and other Muslim interpretations. The Qiyāma is usually understood as being the opposite of the Sharī'a in the Ismaili interpretation. The Sharī'a represents the *ẓāhir* or the exoteric aspect of faith, and the Qiyāma stands for the world of *bāṭin* or the esoteric aspect of religion. Prophets who introduced a new Sharī'a are as the heads of the world of *tanzīl*, and the Imāms as the heads of the world of *ta'wīl* represent the inner meaning of the Sharī'a.³² During the final era of the Qiyāma, the Qā'im will end all the Sharī'as prior to his era, reveal the real meaning and the truth within all religions and unite all of them under one banner. However, this understanding of the Sharī'a is different from the understanding of it in other Muslim groups understand.

According to the general interpretation among Muslims, the Sharī'a refers to the whole body of Islamic law, and all the ethical, social and ritualistic codes, derived from the Qur'an and the Ḥadīth as the collected prophetic tradition (and those of the Imāms for the Shī'as) transmitted through chains of *isnād*. According to this definition, the Sharī'a includes different aspects of human life such as ethics, personal hygiene, marriage, food, war, finance and rituals. There are some six hundred verses in the Qur'an with a legislative nature, of which the majority is concerned with rituals and religious duties. Coulson in his *History of Islamic Law* writes that the number of verses dealing with strict legal topics are about eighty. Although these verses

³² Ṭūsī, Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn, *Paradise of Submission*, ed & tr. by S. J. Hossaini Badakhchani, I.B. Tauris, in association with IIS, London 2005, pp. 140.

cover a wide range of topics from punishing the thieves, to women's menstruation, they mostly seem to be for the purpose of providing solutions for individual cases.³³

Some of what is considered to be part of the Sharī'a was part of Arab culture and social practices before Islam, such as the *hajj* and the blood money, which are referred to as reinstated (*imḍā'i*) rules. The other category includes rules which were constituted by the Prophet (*ta'sīsi*).³⁴ There were many occasions when a particular rule was changed at a particular time during the life of the Prophet or in the age of the *Khulafā' al-rāshidūn*. In some of these cases there was opposition to the changes among the Prophet's companions. The case of *mut'a* marriage is a good example. The *mut'a* marriage was customary during the life of the Prophet, and was banned by the second Caliph. However, the Shī'ī Imāms did not acknowledge the ban by the second Caliph.³⁵ Similar examples could be found in other areas such as obligations, where the Shī'as have taken a more liberal position in implementing reform in aspects of obligations at different periods of time. The most important of them is the reducing of the times of prayer from five to three. The concept of "*nāsikh*" (abrogator) and "*mansūkh*" (abrogated) in the Islamic theology and *Tafsīr*, where a divine rule is overruled by another is a similar example. Therefore, it is not certain that what today are understood as unchangeable rules of the Sharī'a, were understood and practiced in the same way throughout the Prophet's lifetime. Some modern Muslim intellectuals have even argued that if Prophet had lived few years longer, we might have had different set of rules as part of the Sharī'a.³⁶

Shahristānī whose ideas heavily influenced the Alamūt theological school has a detailed discussion on the issue of "*nāsikh*" and "*mansūkh*" in the Qur'an in his *Tafsīr*, *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa maṣābiḥ al-abrār*. He writes that *naskh* in relation to Qur'anic rules means that a particular rule has reached its expiry time (*intihat nahāyatihā*). He places the Sharī'as of previous prophets in the same context, and says they are replaced by a new one on the same basis.³⁷

³³ Coulson, N. J, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1964, p. 12-13.

³⁴ Shāhrūdī, M., *Farhang-i fiqh muṭābiq-i madhhab-i ahl-i bayt*, Vol. 3, pp. 352 & 354.

³⁵ See *Introduction to Middle Eastern Law* by Chibli Mallat, Oxford University Press, 2007.

³⁶ Sorūsh, 'Abd al-Karīm, *Širāṭhā-yi mustaqīm*, Širāṭ Publications, Tehran, 1388/2009, p. 40.

³⁷ Shahristānī, *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa maṣābiḥ al-abrār (Du maktūb)*, Ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Ādharshab, Nashr-i Mīrāth-i Maktūb, Tehran, 1387/2008, Vol. 1, p. 52.

According to the above evidence, the Sharī'a has not been a fixed body throughout the Islamic history, and based on the circumstances, different aspects of the Sharī'a have undergone some reform or re-interpretation. For the Ismailis, the chain of prophets who introduced new Sharī'as or laws represents a gradual perfection. Each Sharī'a is replaced by a more complete one in the next Sharī'a. Eventually, all of these Sharī'as will be abrogated by the Qā'im who will reveal the true meaning of all religions.³⁸ Therefore, Sharī'a in this context is a periodical concept which could be completed or replaced over time. On this basis, when Shahristānī in his *Majlis-i maktūb mun'aqid dar Khwārazm* discusses the reforms of the Qā'im, he writes that "one should not consider *naskh* (abrogation) as *ibṭāl* (cancellation), but it is *ikmāl* (completion)."³⁹

The obligations or *takālīf* form an important part of the Sharī'a. In the daily life of Muslims, religious obligations have been the most frequent matter that they have dealt with. Therefore, in some cases, the term "Sharī'a" was used to refer to the concept of obligations among Muslims. By examining different literature related to the Qiyāma within the Nizārī sources, it is evident that the term Sharī'a mostly refers to the body of rituals and daily obligations.⁴⁰ Although, in the early stages after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma there was not much clarity over the exact meaning of these terms, when we look at the *Fuṣūl* literature and writings of Ṭūsī in later periods, attempts have been made to elucidate the ambiguities and limit the Sharī'a to the obligations, in order to refute the accusation of *ibāḥa* (permissiveness).

Astrological Predictions of the Qiyāma

According to both Ismaili and non-Ismaili sources, it is predicted that the Qā'im will appear at a specific period of time. There is no doubt that astrological interpretations played an important role in justifications of different apocalyptic events in Ismaili history from the early periods of the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa, to the times of the Druze and the Nizārīs.

³⁸ Sajistānī, *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa*, ed. Tāmir 'Ārif, Cathlic Publication, Bairut, 1966, pp. 166-167.

³⁹ Shahristānī, *Majlis-i maktūb mun'aqid dar Khwārazm*, Ed. Muḥammad R. Jalālī Nā'inī, Nashr-i Nuqra, Tehran, 1369/1990, p. 103.

⁴⁰ This has been also the case in the Qarmaṭī tradition according to the account of Nāṣir-i Khusraw about the Qarāmiṭa of al-Aḥsā'. See the chapter on the Description of al-Aḥsā'.

According to the predictions made during the early periods of Ismaili *da'wa*, the Qā'im would appear when Jupiter (*mushtarī*) and Mars (*mirrīkh*) are in conjunction.⁴¹ During the Alamūt period, the Proclamation of the Qiyāma took place when Sirius (*sha'r-i yamānī*) was in Cancer and Capella was in Gemini.⁴² The clear difference in these astrological readings shows that in different periods of time there have been different interpretations as justifications for these events. There are different accounts that at the early stages of the Ismaili movement in Ṭabaristān, people were expecting the Mahdī to emerge at a certain time, but since the prediction did not materialize, the Ismaili *dā'ī*, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī had to flee from the region when his people turned against him.⁴³ As another important example of these astrological predictions, we can refer to the astrological readings of a meteor during Mahdī's journey from Salamiyya to North Africa as a sign of his re-appearance in Ja'far al-Ḥājib account.⁴⁴

There are similar accounts about the Qarāmiṭa of Iraq. The author of *al-Farq* brings an account about the predictions of the "*majūs*" (Persians) to whom he considers the *bāṭinīs* are related. He writes that they believed that Zarathustra predicted that the government will return to Persians after it was won by Arabs around one thousand and five hundred years after Zarathustra. He also writes that an Ismaili astronomer called Abū 'Abdullāh al-'Ardī wrote in his book that in the eighteenth century (*qarn*) [?]⁴⁵ after Muḥammad's birth, which corresponds with the tenth millennium (*alf al-'āshir*) and the conjunction of Jupiter and Mars a man will emerge and reinstate the government for the Persians and rule the whole world.⁴⁶ According to this calculation, the time of his emergence was the reign of Caliph Muktafī (d. 908) and al-Muqtadir (d. 929).

⁴¹ Baghdādī, 1910, p. 271.

⁴² Maḥmūd, Ḥasan, *Spiritual Resurrection in Shi'i Islam, An Early Ismaili Treatise on the Doctrine of Qiyāmat*, ed. Badakhchani, S. J., 2017, p. 88.

⁴³ Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsāt-Nāmah (Siyar al-Mulūk)*, ed. Ja'far Shi'ār, Kitābhā-yi Jībī Pub. Tehran, 1370/1991, p. 255.

⁴⁴ See "*Sīra*" in *Mudhākirāt fī Ḥarkat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī*, ed. by W. Ivanow, Maṭba'at al-Ma'had al-Faransī li'l-Āthār al-Sharqīyya, Cairo, 1939. p. 112.

⁴⁵ In some sources, one *qarn* (century) is regarded to be less than one hundred years. See *Dehkhudā* under "*qarn*".

⁴⁶ Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir, *al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, al-Qāhira, 1910, p. 271.

When ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī was travelling from Salamiyya to the Maghreb, he stayed for few months in Ramla. On one night during this time, they sighted a meteor. He is reported to have said that “this is one of the signs of my re-appearance as the Mahdī.”⁴⁷

There are indications that the Druze movement was also influenced by apocalyptical predictions. In the *Rasā’il* of Ḥamza b. ‘Alī, there is no direct reference to such calculations, but it cannot be a coincidence that their movement took place at the end of the first millennium in the Christian calendar. There is strong evidence that some of the policies implemented by the Caliph-Imām al-Ḥākim was due to his belief that he was the “expected one”. Although there may have been other reasons for such belief, the time of his reign which coincided with the year 1000 CE seems to have been a strong reason for him to adopt his revolutionary policies.⁴⁸ The Christians were an important minority in Egypt and in some periods very influential at the Fatimid Court, especially during the reign of al-‘Azīz, al-Ḥākim’s father. Works by Ḥamīd al-Dīn Kirmānī show that Judeo-Christian literature had strong influence on the Fatimid literature, which could have played some role in the growth of such ideas.⁴⁹

There are number of accounts concerning the astrological interpretation of the Nizārī Proclamation of the Qiyāma. The first of them is the final chapter of *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*. Explaining the timing of the Qiyāma, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd writes that the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt took place when the Sirius (*sha’rā-yi yamānī*) was in conjunction with Cancer (*saraṭān*), Capella (*‘ayyūq*) with the Gemini (*jawzā’*), and the peak of Sun was also in Gemini. According to him, every seven thousand years the Resurrection of all Resurrections take place. This Resurrection occurs in the fourth region (*iqḷīm*) which is the region of the Sun, in the lands of “*Babel*” and “*Ajam*”, on the mountains of Daylam and the rock of Alamūt.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ja‘far al-Ḥājib, *Sīra* in “*Mudhākīrāt fī Ḥarkat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī*”, ed. by W. Ivanow, Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘had al-Faransī li’l-Āthār al-Sharqīyya”, Cairo, 1939, p. 112.

⁴⁸ There are some writings on this particular time at the end of the first millennium that proves there was a big explosion in one of the galaxies. Different sources, Western, Chinese and Muslim, reported this event as the birth of a new star. Some of the actions of al-Ḥākim such as the destruction of the old monastery of Jerusalem have been interpreted as the sign of the Anti-Christ. See *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change*, ed. By Richard Lands, 2003, Oxford University Press.

⁴⁹ Kirmānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *Majmū‘a al-rasā’il*, ed. By Muṣṭafā Ghālib, al-Mu‘assasa al-jāmi‘iyya, Bairut, 1407/1987, p. 120.

⁵⁰ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, MS B64, f. 805. This is a copy of Haft-bāb which has some extra information compared to what Ivanow published. This manuscript is a collection of texts on Ismaili literature such

The same author has number of poems in his *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* in which he discusses different predictions by 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II), to the fulfilment of which he was a witness on different occasions (in his view).⁵¹ Although most of these predictions, such as the invasion of the Mongols whom he called *ya'jūj wa ma'jūj*,⁵² or the decline of regional rulers, are concerned with events that took place after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma, in his eyes they were the events unfolding in the aftermath of the Proclamation of the Qiyāma.

The Early Models in Ismaili History

To return to the chronological beginnings, the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa emerged from the same political environment and doctrinal framework, the one in which the early Ismaili *da'wa* was operating, but they disagreed on two important principles which are at the core of the Qiyāma doctrine: the identity of the Qā'im-Mahdī and the role of the Sharī'a. These two principles remained integral parts of the Qiyāma events and at the same time the most crucial challenge within them. Therefore, in discussing each case of these apocalyptical events, the identity of the Qā'im-Mahdī, the challenges to the authority of the Qā'im-Mahdī and the place of the Sharī'a in the aftermath of the Qiyāma Proclamation are examined.

The Fatimid case of the Qiyāma is discussed first before that of the Qarāmiṭa. Although the early Ismaili *da'wa* in Iraq is known as the Qarāmiṭa, and the Fatimids could be counted as an offshoot of the early *da'wa*, from the historical point of view, 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī's reappearance as the Mahdī at the beginning of the new era in 297/910 occurred before the similar event took place in the Qarāmiṭa state of Bahrain when their Qā'im-Mahdī publicly emerged around 319/931. The Fatimids distanced themselves from what was considered extreme (*ghuluw*) by non-Ismailis. Therefore, 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī took great pains to disassociate his appearance from the apocalyptical expectations of the Qiyāma. His challenges were more to combat radical expectations and introduce new readings of the new era and his position. Although the Fatimids had a more conservative position on the meaning of the

as *Dīwāni qā'imīyyāt*, *Ṣaḥīfat al-nāẓirīn* and the *Haft bāb*. In the colophon of the manuscript the date of completion is recorded 875/1470, but it seems that this date was the date of its source copy.

⁵¹ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, ed. S. J. Badakhchani, Introduction by M. R. Shafī'ī Kadkanī, Mīrāth-i Maktūb Publication, Tehran, 2011, p. 328-330.

⁵² Ibid., p. 327. In the Christian tradition, this term is used as "Gog and Magog".

Qiyāma, there are some accounts in non-Fatimid sources that show many people were advocating same ideas in the early stages of Fatimid movement in North Africa too.⁵³

The Qarāmiṭa remained loyal to the established Ismaili doctrines of the Qiyāma and the implications of the declaration of the new era. There are scattered accounts of an event in Bahrain in the early years of the Qarmaṭī state in historical texts written by both Ismaili and non-Ismaili authors that give us a valuable insight into their interpretation of the Qiyāma.⁵⁴ More important than all these, the Druze were separated from the Ismailis as a new offshoot of the Fatimid Ismailis based on similar doctrinal premises in 408/1017 in Egypt. The Druze have many similarities with the early Nizārīs in their perception and articulation of the ethical and ideological framework of the new era.

Although the Druze cannot be categorized as fully part of the Ismaili tradition due to their later developments and their final independence from their Ismaili origins, the theological foundation of this tradition lies in the Ismaili interpretation of the Qiyāma. Therefore, the role of this doctrine in forming the identity of this tradition is also investigated here. On the history and the doctrines of the Druze, there is a considerable amount of published works many of which have also been consulted. Among them are “Origin of the Druze People and Religion” by, Philip K. Hitti which is published in 1966, the works of Abu Izzudin, and the most recent one by D. De Smet on *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*, in 2007.

‘Alī bin Ḥamza who became known as the main architect of this tradition made a similar proclamation and announced the beginning of the Qiyāma and ended the Sharī'a by replacing the Islamic “Pillars” of the Sharī'a (*arkān*) with new pillars.⁵⁵ The Druze believed that the 6th Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (the 16th Ismaili Imām) was the manifestation of God. Although the Nizārīs remained loyal to the principles of Islam, the Druze came to the belief that their proclamation was an end to the era of Islam. However, the Nizārīs never understood the new *da'wa* of the Qiyāma as a new religion outside the tenets of Islam. In fact, they gradually reformed the original idea of the Qiyāma and presented it in line with other mystical interpretations of Islam at that time. So they remained loyal to the tenets of Islam. This difference in the outcome of announcing the Qiyāma in these two Ismaili movements is important. The reasons and circumstances in which these two movements in one Islamic

⁵³ Heinz, 1996, pp. 247-248.

⁵⁴ These sources are discussed in the chapter on the Qarāmiṭa and the Qiyāma.

⁵⁵ *Al-Naqd al-khaṭī*, MS DR. f. 30.

tradition followed similar steps but ended in two different outcomes have not been investigated as yet. Going through these circumstances, different important factors in shaping their identities will be compared.

In all of these cases, three important phases are identified as the main factors in formation of the identities of these Ismaili traditions which will be discussed in detail in each chapter. The first phase is the early formation and the way these communities formed and gained momentum based on apocalyptic ideas in which reappearance of the Qā'im-Mahdī plays a pivotal role. The second phase is the context in which Qā'im-Mahdī reappears and the new era starts. The nature of the Qiyāma era is primarily based on the political circumstances with which the Qā'im-Mahdī has to actively engage and in which he should justify his decisions. The third phase concerns the challenges that proclaiming the new era of the Qiyāma create. These challenges are either doctrinal ones that address theological basis of the Qiyāma doctrine, or they revolve around the authority of the Qā'im-Mahdī as the legitimate person to initiate the final era of the Qiyāma. Depending on the complexities of each phase in each tradition, certain phases may be examined in more detail in order to explain and understand the complexities.

The last chapter is dedicated to the Nizārī Proclamation of the Qiyāma which is the focal subject of this study. This chapter is divided into two parts in which different historical and doctrinal aspects of the Qiyāma era are investigated in detail. In order to understand different transformations in the interpretation of the Qiyāma, a number of Persian texts from the Alamūt period have been translated, analysed and incorporated into the study. Most of these texts are new literature which are introduced and published for the first time. Thus, an entire chapter will be dedicated to the literature of the Qiyāma produced during the Alamūt period.

1. The Rise of the Qā'im-Mahdīs and the
Apocalyptic expectations of Early Ismaili *Da'wa*



The Ismaili *da'wa* gained momentum in the midst of apocalyptic expectations during the 3rd/9th in different areas of Shī'ī activity in Southern Iraq and the neighbouring regions. The Ismaili *dā'īs* were propagating the belief that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the Qā'im-Mahdī will reappear and establish a state of justice and initiate the final era of the Qiyāma. However, right at the time of his reappearance, disagreement on his identity and mission divided the *da'wa* and different people claimed to be the Mahdī. This chapter discusses how these ideas turned into movements to prepare the ground for the formation of the Ismaili states of the Fatimids in Egypt and the Qarāmiṭa in Bahrain. The dispute over the identity of the Mahdī was instrumental in the splitting of the Ismaili *da'wa* into the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa. Therefore, before going into the affairs of the Fatimids, this dispute will be closely studied.

According to Sumaiya Hamdani, after the disappearance of the last Twelver Shī'ī Imām in 261/875 the Ismaili *da'wa* spread to different regions of Syria, Iraq, Bahrain and Persia.⁵⁶ The vacuum created after the disappearance of this Imām created more space for the Ismaili *da'wa* to intensify its activity and fill in the space created by propagating the imminent reappearance of the Qā'im-Mahdī. The early stage of the Ismaili *da'wa* is usually referred to the rise of the Qarāmiṭa in different sources of Islamic history. The Qarāmiṭa owe their name to one of the Ismaili *dā'īs* called Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ (d. 321 AH / 933 CE).⁵⁷ There is no clear account of the events in this early period of the formation of the Ismaili movement, but based on the consensus of scholars in this field Ḥamdān was one of the early Ismaili *dā'īs*, who was

⁵⁶ Hamdani, Sumaiya, *Between Revolution and State*, I. B. Tauris Publishers in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2006, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Ṭabarī, 1983, Vol. 10, p. 23.

converted to the Ismaili faith by Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī around 260/874 and was operating in the suburbs of Kūfa. The dominant idea about his name is that he was called “*Qarmaṭ*” because he had short legs or red eyes. The word *qarmaṭ* means both “short-legged” and “red-eyed” in Arabic.⁵⁸ Ḥamdān became the chief *dāʿī* after the death of al-Ahwāzī. He dispatched missionaries to different regions; Ibn Ḥawshab to Yemen, Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī to Fārs and Bahrain, and Abū ʿAbdullāh Shīʿī to Maghreb. His chief associate was his brother-in-law, ʿAbdān. They were quite successful in organizing a very strong campaign in Southern Iraq, Syria and Persia. However, gradually with the re-emergence of ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī, it seems that a schism occurred in the Ismaili movement.⁵⁹

Generally speaking, in the past most scholars dealing with the early stages of the Ismaili movement regarded the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa as one movement with different names. They relied mainly on the accounts provided by a stern opponent of the Ismailis called Ibn Razzām, until Ivanow’s scholarship on the subject and the publication of Ismaili original sources moderated the debate.⁶⁰ The new scholarship in this field convincingly argued that with the emergence of ʿAbdullāh as the Mahdī in 286/899, some confusion arose which disrupted the Ismaili *daʿwa* in Iraq. The origin of this confusion was a disagreement over the leadership of the *daʿwa*.⁶¹

After the schism in the Ismaili *daʿwa* in 286/899, ʿAbdān was killed and Ḥamdān disappeared.⁶² This schism occurred during the early stages of the reappearance of the Ismaili Imāms at the end of the first *satr* (occultation) period, and the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate in North Africa in 297 / 910. According to the accounts of Ibn Razzām, Ḥamdān found out that ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī, who was then believed to be only in charge of the *daʿwa* leadership as the *ḥujja* or deputy to the absent Imām had claimed to be the long-awaited Mahdī.⁶³ During the early period of the Ismaili *daʿwa*, the general belief was that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was the last Imām, who will reappear as the Mahdī. However, ʿAbdullāh announced that the idea of

⁵⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, 1971, Vol. 4, p. 235. In our later discussion of the Druze literature, we will discuss some accounts about certain rituals in Bahrain by a particular *dāʿī* who ordered his people to colour their noses red (*qarmaṭū ānāfukum*), as the reason for their name Qarmaṭī. *Rasāʿil*, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 114.

⁵⁹ Daftary, 2005, p. 3.

⁶⁰ B. Lewis, 1940, p. 20.

⁶¹ Daftary, 1993, pp. 123–139

⁶² W. Madelung, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, under “Karmaṭīs”. In his later writings, based on Ibn Ḥawqal’s accounts he argues that Ḥamdān was moved to Egypt where he was known as Abū ʿAlī.

⁶³ Nuwayrī, 2002, p. 247.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Mahdī had been a temporary measure for *taqiyya* reasons, and all the Imāms before him were considered to be Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Therefore, he was another Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and consequently the Mahdī.⁶⁴ These reforms did not appeal to Ḥamdān and his associate, ʿAbdān, and subsequently they ended the *daʿwa* activities in Iraq and elsewhere.⁶⁵

There are indirect references to this ideological crisis in some other sources like the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) as well. In his account of Ismaili activities (*sabʿiyyān* as he says) in Ray and Daylamān, he refers to an ideological issue which created considerable opposition towards the Ismaili *daʿwa*. He says that Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934-5), who was the chief *dāʿī* in Ray and Daylam initially converted many of the Daylamīs to Ismailism with the promise that the Mahdī - namely Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl - would soon appear. However, after a while, when the promised date passed and it did not happen, the new converts abandoned the Qarmaṭī religion. Abū Ḥātim as a result left the region and fled to Azerbaijan.⁶⁶

Some other sources tell us that the previous Imām (Muḥammad or Aḥmad) had appointed Saʿīd b. Ḥusayn, his nephew and son-in-law (later on the Mahdī) as his successor, since he did not have any surviving male heir. We do not know when exactly the Mahdī or Saʿīd b. Ḥusayn proclaimed himself as the Mahdī. However, we know that number of leading *dāʿīs* in different regions broke with him when they heard the claims. Therefore, like other cases of the Mahdī-Qāʿims in the Ismaili tradition, the challenges to his authority started from the beginning of his claim to the position of the Mahdī. The early challenges appeared from the dissident *dāʿīs* of Iraq who did not acknowledge him as eligible to lead the movement as the Mahdī. The second challenge appeared at the beginning of his rule as the Mahdī and the first Fatimid caliph, again from his close allies, those in North Africa who were instrumental in his political success.

Both Madelung and Daftary have argued that the core of the schism of 286/899 which split the Ismaili *daʿwa* into the Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa rest on this fact that ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī claimed the Imāma for himself.⁶⁷ According to this interpretation, after this claim, ʿAbdān, the

⁶⁴ This is based on a letter by al-Mahdī sent to the *dāʿī* Maṣṣūr al-Yaman probably after establishing his authority as the Mahdī in North Africa in 297/910. See Hamdani, 1983, p. 178.

⁶⁵ Daftary, 2007, p. 119.

⁶⁶ Niẓām al-Mulk, 1370/1991, pp. 256-257.

⁶⁷ Daftary, 2007, p. 117.

head of the 'Irāqī faction of the *da'wa* who opposed the new claims was killed by a *dā'ī* supporting the central leadership in Salamiyya called Zakarūya b. Mahrūya.⁶⁸ The information on this episode in Ismaili history is very confusing and sometimes conflicting. The Ismaili sources, like the *Istitār al-imām* of Naysābūrī, claim that after Abū Muḥammad's (Zakarūya) sons killed their brother-in-law ('Abdān), they were dismissed from their position in the *da'wa* by Abū al-Ḥusayn the chief *dā'ī* on the orders of al-Mahdī. Therefore, they decided to go to Salamiyya and depose Abū al-Ḥusayn and al-Mahdī who they call "Ibn al-Baṣrī".⁶⁹ The use of this term for someone who is believed to be the Imām is very strange, unless you do not recognize him as the Imām. This is more confusing when we remember that these people killed 'Abdān because he was not loyal to al-Mahdī. Therefore, the reasons that Naysābūrī gives us as the reasons behind the Qarāmiṭa's opposition to the Fatimids do not seem credible. It is certain that between the years of 286/889 and 289/891, when Zakarūya's sons waged war against al-Mahdī in Salamiyya serious disputes took place over the leadership that turned the opposition in a more hostile direction. Contrary to the belief that the lower rank *dā'īs* at the head of the Qarāmiṭa were leading the attack on the *da'wa* leadership in Salamiyya, all the evidence indicates that a family dispute over the succession to the leadership was at the core of this hostile attack.⁷⁰

There are some important details in Naysābūrī's *Istitār al-imām* and Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-irab* about this dispute which will further elucidate the issue for us. According to Nuwayrī, after the schism of 286/889 and the execution of 'Abdān in Southern Iraq, a person whose name is not mentioned came from Ṭāliqān in Persia to Iraq to settle the dispute, but had to return without any outcome. However, later he wrote to Zakarūya that he would return to him and reveal himself! Upon his return, Zakarūya sent his nephew and a slave to his son al-Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) along with the Ṭāliqānī man to Shām, introducing the latter as the "son of the *hujja*" and the Imām, and asked them to obey him. Nuwayrī's account which is based on Ibn Razzām's source confirms that this Ṭāliqānī man was believed to be the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl.⁷¹ Halm believes that this unnamed person from Ṭāliqān was al-Mahdī's brother

⁶⁸ Madelung, 2005, p. 24.

⁶⁹ Al-Naysābūrī, 1916, p. 98.

⁷⁰ Ibn Khaldūn writes that Zakarūya was actually Faraj b. Uthmān al-Kāshānī who was claiming to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. See *Tārīkh ibn Khaldūn*, 2000, Vol. 3, p. 420 & 352, also Madelung, 2005, p. 26.

⁷¹ Nuwayrī, 1984, Vol. 25, p. 247.

because he thinks Abū Shalaghlagh had no male offspring. However, this cannot be true as we have evidence that Abū Shalaghlagh had a son and a grandson who went to Iraq and then disappeared. This is according to the Naysābūrī's account in his *Istitār al-imām*, where he talks about a secret letter that Abū Mahzūl (Ḥusayn), one of Zakarūya's sons writes to al-Mahdī, informing him of the execution of his enemies and those who were responsible for his exit and the expulsion of his cousin (*ibn 'amm*) along with his son to Iraq.⁷² Apart from this, it is reported that when Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shī'ī was being recruited by Abū Muḥammad known as Abū Shalaghlagh in Kūfa, he saw two young boys who were playing around. Abū Shalaghlagh whom Abū 'Abdullāh believed to be the Imām told him that "Whenever one of them calls upon you, you need to respond".⁷³ If this was the case, it will add a new dimension to the dispute between the Qarāmiṭa and the Fatimids and could prove that at the heart of the confrontation between them was a dispute between the heirs of the previous Imām, Abū Muḥammad.

This issue is something very controversial that the Fatimid sources preferred not to discuss. It could be the basis of later opposition by some of Mahdī's close allies such as Fayrūz and Abu al-'Abbās who challenged his authority as the Imām.⁷⁴

Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā or Ṣāḥib al-Nāqa, who was the elder brother of Abū Mahzūl according to the *Istitār al-imām*, was killed during the siege of Damascus, when the pro-Abbasid army defeated the Bedouin army of the Qarāmiṭa in 290/903. After this incident Abū Mahzūl, who was desperately in need of financial support to continue his campaign, thought he could not continue without the support of al-Mahdī (then known as Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusayn) who was in charge of the *da'wa* treasury.⁷⁵ Therefore he sent a letter to al-Mahdī who was still in Ramla and asked him to return to Salamiyya.⁷⁶ He told him that he had killed his Hashemite enemies who had revealed his identity and asked Baghdad to send army against him. Despite sending a reassuring letter saying that he would come, al-Mahdī did not trust him enough to return. When Abū Mahzūl found out that al-Mahdī would not return, he turned against him and killed

⁷² Naysābūrī, 1916, p. 102.

⁷³ 'Abd al-Jabbār, 1966, Vol. 2, p. 390.

⁷⁴ Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, 2006, p. 214.

⁷⁵ Ja'far al-Ḥājib, 1939, p. 113.

⁷⁶ Ja'far al-Ḥājib writes that Mahdī did not know the "Qarmaṭī", which cannot be true, as Naysābūrī tells us that Abū Mahzūl b. Zakarūya met Mahdī when the latter was still in Ramla and asked him to return to Salamiyya. However, Mahdī did not trust him, despite sending him a positive message saying that he would return. See *Sīra*, 1939, p. 109-110, and *Istitār*, p. 102.

all his relatives in Salamiyya.⁷⁷ It is not clear what was behind this violent response, but probably Abū Mahzūl found out that al-Mahdī had been lying to him and had deprived him of his support, when the Abbasid army was heading towards Salamiyya. Naysābūrī says that Abū Mahzūl's letter to al-Mahdī was a trick to make al-Mahdī to come back in order to kill him.⁷⁸ However, this is not quite convincing because if his aim was to kill al-Mahdī, he could have followed him in Ramla. On the contrary, Abū Mahzūl needed desperately Mahdī on his side after the death of Abū al-Qāsim. He needed the financial support of Mahdī who had hidden his wealth from him. Without this support, his uprising was destined to defeat and failure.

In the accounts given by both Naysābūrī and Ibn Razzām there are some ambiguities that put their report of the events in question. None of them present a credible reason for the attack by Zakarūya's sons on Salamiyya and 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī. How can somebody who has killed his brother-in-law 'Abdān for questioning the authority of the *da'wa* leadership in Salamiyya attack the leadership and massacre the leader's people? Why does Ibn Razzām insist on referring to the father of Abū al-Qāsim, Ṣāhib al-Nāqa as "Zakarūya b. Mahrūya", whereas he is called as Abū Muḥammad in *Istitār al-imām*? There is also another episode in Ibn Razzām's account that is ignored in *Istitār*; the account of a particular person that came to Zakarūya from Ṭāliqān who was sent to Shām by Zakarūya and introduced to his son al-Ḥasan as "the son of *ḥujja*" and the "Ṣāhib al-Imām".⁷⁹ In the account by al-Nuwayrī, quoting a letter attributed to Ḥasan b. Zakarūya, but it seems to be by the same "son of *ḥujja*" to the governor of Ḥimṣ, Ja'far b. Ḥamīd al-Kurdī, he introduces himself as follows:

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī al-Manṣūr, the help for God's religion, rising to God's command, calling to the Book of God, dissolving from God's Boundary, the chosen of the family of God's Messenger, Amīr al-Mu'minīn and Imām al-Muslimīn... and the son of the best of the Waṣiyyīn – Peace be upon him and his pure family-."⁸⁰

His following sentences, shows that the role and the character that he saw for himself has been the same role and the character that is destined for the Mahdī in fighting corruption, destroying the oppressors and protecting the religion of God:

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 103.

⁷⁸ Naysābūrī, 1939, p. 102.

⁷⁹ Nuwayrī, 1985, Vol. 25, p. 247.

⁸⁰ Nuwayrī, Vol. 25, pp. 256-257.

“A letter to Ja‘far b. Ḥamīd al-Kurdī. Peace be Upon you! To you, I praise God, apart from whom there is no God except for Him, and I ask Him to Praise Muḥammad (*yuṣallā ‘alayh*) my grandfather the Messenger. The news of what happened before you about the infidel enemies of God reached us, and what they have committed in your area of oppression, vainness and corruption on earth, by which we were shocked. We decided to send there [a number] of our army, through whom God would take revenge from our oppressing enemies who spread corruption on earth. Therefore, we send a group of the faithful to the city of Ḥimṣ, and we are coming after them. We instructed them to find the enemies of God on their way to your area wherever they are. We hope that God will reward us in their hand by His best yields similar to what He has given us. And your heart and the heart of your people who are our friends should have faith in God, and in His victory against those who deviate from obedience and Faith that will always come to us. Send us the news of your area and what happens there, and do not hesitate to ask us what you need in its affair.

‘Their prayer therein will be: Glory be to Thee, O Allah! And their greeting therein will be: Peace. And the conclusion of their prayer will be: Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds! (11:10)’. Peace be upon my Grandfather, His Messenger and his family and many greetings.”⁸¹

The only problem with this letter is that Abū al-Ḥasan does not mention the name of his father so that one might see what line of ‘Alid lineage he was claiming for himself. In Naysābūrī’s account, this Abū al-Ḥasan and Abū al-Qāsim are the sons of Abū Muḥammad the *dā‘ī* of Iraq. It is worth mentioning that the name of the Imām before al-Mahdī was Muḥammad too. Apart from what is written by Naysābūrī, we do not have any other information at this particular time about such an influential *dā‘ī* in Iraq with the name of Abū Muḥammad. When we put it next to other accounts that mention him as Zakarūya b. Mahrūya which clearly suggests he was from a Persian background, the public claim of Prophetic descent by Zakarūya’s sons is not believable. According to Ibn Khaldūn the real name of Zakarūya was Faraj b. Yaḥyā who was a companion of the Ismaili Imām in Kūfa and Baṣra.⁸² There are also accounts that Zakarūya claimed descent from Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl.⁸³

According to the above account, it is highly possible that Zakarūya was the Ismaili Imām who was living under a concealed identity. It is very unlikely that a *dā‘ī* would introduce his son as

⁸¹ Nuwayrī, vol. 25, p. 257.

⁸² Ibn Khaldūn, 1408/1987, p. 352.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 420. See also Muskūya, 2003, vol. 4, p. 403.

the Imām or the son of the Imām. Therefore, the whole schism of 286/899 deserves to be revised accordingly. These accounts show that the centre of the dispute was over the leadership of the movement and the claim of Imāma and Mahdīship by different members of the same clan. When we add al-Mahdī's claim in his letter to Ibn Ḥawshab that the real Imām was 'Abdullāh b. Aṭṭah and Ismā'īl was only a pseudonym for different Imāms, it shows that he was trying to discredit those who had been claiming a lineage from Ismā'īl. The only people who had such claims at that time were the so-called sons of Zakarūya who were leading the dissident Qarmaṭī faction.

This dispute over the leadership of the *da'wa* did not last long as the Zakarūya's sons were unsuccessful. A year later in 291/904, the Caliph al-Muktafī dispatched an army under the command of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān to Shām, where they defeated the Qarmaṭī army and captured Ibn Zakarūya, and after humiliating him in the streets of Baghdād, they executed him.⁸⁴ According to the above account, it is certain that the identity of the Mahdī was at the centre of an early dispute among different factions of Ismailis. It was not only the Abbasids who questioned 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī's right to rule, but he also faced serious challenges from people with high positions within the Ismaili *da'wa* right at the beginning of his leadership of the Ismaili *da'wa*, even before appearing as the Mahdī in North Africa.

1.1 The Ismaili *da'wa* in Persia

The Persian lands of Daylam and Khurāsān were important destinations for the Ismaili *dā'īs* especially in the early period of Islamic history. Although the Ismailis in this area were not able to establish an independent state in this region before Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, their activities were important in preparing the grounds for the success of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the establishment of the Nizārī state of Alamūt.

There are scattered reports in sources such as the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm that the Shī'as of Kāshān and Ray were expecting the appearance of the Mahdī in the same period that al-Mahdī established the Fatimid Caliphate in North Africa. He writes that Manṣūr Ḥallāj, whom he

⁸⁴ Nuwayrī, 1423/2002, vol. 25, p. 251.

accuses of association with the Shī'īs was propagating the belief that the Mahdī will emerge in Kāshān.⁸⁵ Madelung also believes that the Imām from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's line lived in Khurāsān.⁸⁶ The Ismaili sources also confirm that some members of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl emigrated to Qazwīn and Māzandarān in the Northern regions of Persia. However, most of these sources do not provide much information about the details of Ismaili activities in these regions during the early period before the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate in 297/910.

The first Persian source that provides detailed information about Ismaili *da'wa* in the Persian lands is the account provided by Niẓām al-Mulk. Khwāja Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī (d. 485/1092), the famous Seljuk vizier has an extensive account of the Ismaili *da'wa* and its initiation in different parts of Iran in his *Siyāsat-nāma*.⁸⁷ He wrote his book to warn the Seljuk Sultāns against the dangers of this “new” religion. Therefore, his account sometimes turns into fantasy and political accusations. However, it is full of unique and informative details about Ismaili activities and important figures in the *da'wa* hierarchy in different regions of Persia. His accounts are sometimes his interpretation of the events and Ismaili beliefs which are not quite accurate, but nonetheless they provide clear insights into the nature of Ismaili activities and the hostile environments they were operating in.

According to Niẓām al-Mulk, a particular person by the name of Ghiyāth organized the *da'wa* in Ray and Khurāsān during the 3rd / 9th century. Ghiyāth appointed Muḥammad Nakhshabī as his successor after his death. Nakhshabī was sent by Ḥusayn Marwūdī, a notable prince who had been already converted to Ismailism by Ghiyāth, to Samarqand and Bukhārā to convert the Sāmānid court.⁸⁸ Nakhshabī managed to convert many notables of Bukhara and the Sāmānid courtiers to the Ismaili religion. The converted courtiers convinced Naṣr b.

⁸⁵ Ibn Nadīm, 1989, vol. 1, p. 279.

⁸⁶ Unpublished paper, presented at the conference of “Intellectual Interactions in the Islamic World: The Ismaili Thread”, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2016.

⁸⁷ It is said that Niẓām al-Mulk started writing this book during Malikshāh's reign and finished it during Muḥammad Shāh's. By that time, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ had already started his *da'wa* in Alamūt, but there is no mention of his activities in this book. However, there is a very lengthy account of the Qarmaṭīs in his book. It seems that he was aware of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's campaign as he acknowledges that the Ismailis are referred to by different names in different places, but they call themselves “Ta'līmīs”. This new name “Ta'līmī” is based on Ṣabbāḥ's teachings in Persia. It is probable that Niẓām al-Mulk aimed to refute the Ismaili religion without direct reference to Ṣabbāḥ's campaign, of which he was surely aware and on which had valuable information. There are other works attributed to Niẓām al-Mulk, titled *Dastūr al-wuzarā'* and *Waṣāyā*, which contain detailed information about his dealings with Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ.

⁸⁸ Niẓām al-Mulk, 1991, p 255.

Aḥmad (r. 914-943), the Sāmānid Sulṭān to invite Nakhshabī to his court and finally he converted him to his religion. Niẓām al-Mulk does not tell us how the Sunnī ‘*ulamā*’ reacted in these circumstances, though he presents a detailed account of the reaction of the army commanders, which ended up with Amīr Naṣr's removal from throne and his imprisonment.⁸⁹ He may have had some reservations about implying that the Sunnī ‘*ulamā*’ were responsible for inciting the army against the king, but in later developments we come across extensive accounts about their involvement in the coup as well as after it.⁹⁰

Although the coup against Amīr Naṣr was not completely successful and the Sipahsālār (the commander in chief) lost his head in the end, the opposition to Naṣr and his religious allies succeeded in replacing him with his son, Nūḥ (r. 332/943-343/954). This event had disastrous results for the Ismailis in Bukhārā. The new king and his allies decided to massacre the followers of Nakhshabī in this area. Many of Amīr Naṣr's courtiers such as Jayhānī (330/942), the vizier, and Rūdakī (d. 329/941) the famous poet are believed to be among the victims of this coup.⁹¹

A few points may be understood from the outcome of the Ismaili activities in Khurāsān and Transoxiana that gives some insight into the nature of Ismaili *da‘wa*. The accounts in the *Siyāsāt-nāma* shows that the Ismaili *dā‘īs* sought to aim at the elites as well as the general public in their activities in order to penetrate the political establishment and gain control. This strategy brought immediate and valuable success in the short term for the Ismailis in this region, as it opened a way to the Sāmānid court. At the same time, it created stronger opposition among those who thought they had lost their previous status by the arrival of the new men. Although there is no mention of religious figures among the opposition to Amīr Naṣr, the appointment of a particular Abu al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥakam, known as Imām Shams al-A‘imma who was a *faqīh* shows that the Sunnī ‘*ulamā*’ took charge after Naṣr was overthrown.⁹²

The rivalry between the Ismailis and the Sunnī ‘*ulamā*’ did not end, but continued during the reign of Naṣr's successors as well. Minhāj-i Sirāj writes that when Nūḥ b. Naṣr died in 343 /

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 259-260.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 270.

⁹¹ Nafīsī, 1962, p. 403.

⁹² Minhāj-i Sirāj, 1963, Vol. 1, p. 209.

954, and his son ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded him, Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. ‘Azīz became his vizier and Abū Sa‘īd Bakr Farghānī was appointed as the commander of the army. However, few years later both were accused of being associated with the Qarāmiṭa and subsequently executed.⁹³

The general pattern that one can observe in Ismaili activities in this region is very informative. It seems that the Ismaili campaigns in this region, despite being successful in the early stages, did not last long and met with severe opposition. Initially, Nakhshabī and his successors managed to penetrate into the political establishment and convert influential figures to their faith.⁹⁴ However, we do not know how much success they had in winning over the masses, and especially the Turkish warlords. According to these accounts, some have argued that the nature of the Ismaili *da‘wa* was more elite oriented.⁹⁵ There is no doubt that some aspects of the Ismaili *da‘wa* were very philosophical and so complicated that only the educated layers of society would understand them. However, the most important aspect of this *da‘wa* was the idea of the Mahdī and the Qiyāma era which was a message of hope and change in the religious and political system that would bring justice for the deprived sections of society. This had attracted many people from the peasantry, slaves and more deprived layers of society to the Qarāmiṭa of Iraq and elsewhere. These ideas are clearly present of the works of Central Asian *dā‘īs* such as Nasafī, and it is highly probable that they were the driving force among their followers for the creation of an uprising.

The opposition to the Ismaili *da‘wa* in Khurāsān was made up of three strong parties. The Abbasid Caliphs managed to form a strong alliance with the Sunnī ‘*ulamā*’ and the Turkish warlords who were in minority in this region. According to these historical accounts, the Sunnī jurists and the Turkish rulers had always been the main opposition to the Ismailis. This could explain an ethnographical aspect of the Ismaili *da‘wa* as well. It seems that the Ismaili *da‘wa* targeted the Persians who were not happy with their new ruling class. Reviewing the list of people in historical texts such as Juwaynī’s *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* and Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmī‘ al-tawārīkh* and the list of people who became the victim of the Ismailis in later periods could prove this proposition.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 210.

⁹⁴ Nizām al-Mulk, 1991, p. 255.

⁹⁵ Peacock, 2015, p. 189.

The *da'wa* activities in Khurāsān described above took place when the Fatimids had already established their Caliphate in North Africa. However, we do not know if there was any communication between them and if the Khurāsānī Ismailis accepted the legitimacy of the Fatimids. Generally, the Ismaili *dā'īs* of this region in this period are regarded as Qarmaṭīs. The most important factors in distinguishing the Qarmaṭīs from the Fatimids are their belief in the number of Imāms, the identity of the Mahdī-Qā'im and the nature of the Qiyāma.

The Ismaili sources are generally silent about the schism of 286/899 in the *da'wa*. However, the ideological disputes over important issues such as the number of the Imāms, the identity of the Qā'im and the features of the Qiyāma in the writings of the *dā'īs* or Ismaili theologians of this time sit at the core of their intellectual debates. Before the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate and during the *satr* period, the idea was that the number of the Imāms would remain at seven, until Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl emerges as the Mahdī.⁹⁶

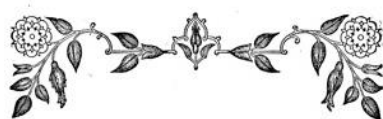
Those loyal to the Fatimids did not believe in any kind of limitation in the number of the Imāms before the Qiyāma. For example, al-Kirmānī, who lived few decades after Sajistānī and was writing on the issue of the Druze, addressed the issue of the number of the Imāms in a similar context. He was living during the caliphate of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (re. 365/411–996/1021) the sixth Fatimid Caliph, and the sixteenth Ismaili Imām. In response to the Druze belief that al-Ḥākim was the last Imām who ended the era of the Sharī'a, he says there will be an eighteenth, a twenty-first, and more.⁹⁷ This clearly shows a change and departure from the early Ismaili doctrine which supports the Fatimid claims. The early Ismailis who believed in the imminent reappearance of the Mahdī, bringing justice and removing the veils of the Sharī'a, could not accept an unlimited number of the Imāms beyond seven which in reality could postpone the rise of the Mahdī.

After this general summary of the regional development of the Ismaili *da'wa*, the first case of Ismaili apocalyptical revolt which resulted in the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate under the leadership of 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī is discussed in detail.

⁹⁶ It seems that Sajistānī in his last work, *al-Iftikhār*, introduced some modifications in his classification of the Ismaili hierarchy. Although, not acknowledging the Imāma of the Fatimid Imāms, he asserts that they were as "*khulafā*" or the deputies of the hidden Imām who manage the *da'wa*. See *al-Iftikhār*, 2000, p. 175.

⁹⁷ Al-Kirmānī, *Mabāsīm al-bishārāt*, 1983, p. 124.

1.2 The Fatimid Mahdī and Postponing the Qiyāma



The Ismaili *da'wa* which was led by the Ismaili Imāms from Salamiyya finally succeeded in establishing the Fatimid Caliphate in the far western territories of the Abbasid Caliphate in North Africa. In this chapter, four different issues arising from the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate are discussed which will be the focal points in the following chapters as well. These issues are repeated in one way or another as a pattern in the apocalyptic events in the Ismaili history. Firstly, the influence of political and military success of the *da'wa* on al-Mahdī's decision to appear as the Mahdī will be explained. Secondly, the challenges he had to face after revealing his identity as the Mahdī will be discussed. Thirdly, the understanding of al-Mahdī about his position and the era of the Qiyāma will be examined, and finally, the reasons for not fulfilling all the expectations of the new era and the challenges as the consequence are going to be discussed.

Al-Mahdī began his campaign at a moment when his *dā'īs* in Yemen and North Africa had won control of a considerable territory and the support of vast number of local people. Furthermore, the relationship between the central leadership in Salamiyya and the Iraqi faction of the movement, later known as the Qarāmiṭa, had been cut. According to Fatimid sources, 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī (or Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusayn) had no choice but to abandon his headquarters in Salamiyya in 289/902 as his identity and hiding place was revealed to the

Abbasids, and al-Muqtadir had asked his governor in Salamiyya to arrest him.⁹⁸ At the same time, the Qarāmiṭa of southern Iraq had dispatched an army to Salamiyya because they were dissatisfied with the doctrinal changes introduced by the new leadership in Salamiyya. Therefore, al-Mahdī and all his family left Salamiyya in two groups for the western cities of Ramla and Damascus.

Since the Ismaili *da'wa* in Iraq had been cut off from the central leadership, there were only two other choices left for him as refuge. The first choice was Yemen, where Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawshab, known as Manṣūr al-Yaman, alongside 'Alī b. Faḍl who conquered Ṣan'ā in 293/905 had consolidated their control as the heads of the Ismaili *da'wa*. The second choice was North Africa where Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shī'ī had succeeded in winning the allegiance of the Kutāma Berbers in Iḳjān, and finally could overthrow the Aghlabid dynasty of Ifrīqiyya loyal to the Abbasids in 297/909.

We have a number of first-hand sources written at or close to the time of al-Mahdī that outline this journey from Salamiyya to North Africa. The most important of them is from an eyewitness who was accompanying al-Mahdī called Ja'far al-Ḥājib. His memories are recorded in a *risāla* known as *Sīra Ja'far al-Ḥājib* by an unknown person, which contains valuable information about the details of this journey and the people accompanying al-Mahdī. According to Ja'far al-Ḥājib, when al-Mahdī set off on his journey, all his companions thought that the destination was Yemen, as the *da'wa* there had been established before that of North Africa and was stronger than that. At this time, Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shī'ī's campaign in North Africa was in its early stages. However, when they reached Egypt, al-Mahdī revealed that he had decided to go to the Maghreb rather than Yemen.⁹⁹ The reason for this change is not quite clear to us. It could have been because of the information that he received from Abū 'Alī, the head of the *da'wa* in Egypt about the uneasy relationship between Manṣūr al-Yaman and 'Alī b. al-Faḍl in Yemen that had become a matter of concern for al-Mahdī.¹⁰⁰ It is also possible that al-Mahdī was trying to mislead the Abbasid agents who were coming after him.

On his way to the Maghreb he met a Shī'ī merchant from Ifrīqiyya called al-Muṭṭalibī who became one of his allies. He arrived at Sijilmāsa in 293/905, while the Abbasids were still sending their agents to different cities looking for him. However, for some reason, al-Mahdī

⁹⁸ al-Ḥājib, 1939, p. 109.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 114.

¹⁰⁰ Madelung writes that he was in fact Ḥamdān Qarmāṭ. See "Fatimids and the Qarāmiṭa of Bahrain", 1996, p. 56.

did not want to go to Ifrīqiyya yet. In the meantime, Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Shī‘ī, the leader of the Ismaili *da‘wa* in the Maghreb continued his victories in the Berber region and Aghlabid territory. In 290/903 he conquered Mīla and Ṣaṭīf when al-Mahdī was still in Egypt. In 293/906, Abū ‘Abdullāh’s army attacked Qayrawān and freed all the prisoners as well as Abu al-‘Abbās, his brother who had been captured on his way to the land of the Kutāmas. Abu ‘Abdullāh sent the news of this victory with some golden *dīnārs* to al-Mahdī in Sijilmāsa where al-Mahdī showed the gold and the message to al-Muṭṭalibī.¹⁰¹ Al-Mahdī’s final journey began in the winter of 296/909 and in the early spring, Abu ‘Abdullāh marched into Raqqāda. Qayrawān was handed to him without a conflict as the elites gave the city to him in exchange of security. He therefore only appointed an *‘āmil* for Qayrawān after the Aghlabid governor fled.¹⁰² This is when he became aware that al-Mahdī had been imprisoned in Sijilmāsa as his identity was revealed to the authorities there. Therefore, Abū ‘Abdullāh went to Sijilmāsa and released al-Mahdī in 296/909.

The establishment of a Shī‘ī state in North Africa, which was both a political and an ideological triumph of Ismaili *da‘wa* astonished the Sunnī historians of North Africa. As S. Hamdani writes, although they disapproved of the Shī‘ī nature of the Fatimid state, they nevertheless credited them for their impressive victory.¹⁰³

1.3 ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī’s Challenges in North Africa

The early sources that discussed al-Mahdī’s life and his journey from Salamiyya to the Maghreb do not make clear if the real issue was al-Mahdī’s leadership of the *da‘wa* or his claim to the Mahdīship. Initially it may not seem an issue, but when we review the unfolding events before the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate, we can see that there was a development in the challenge over al-Mahdī’s authority at the time he took over the political power from Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Shī‘ī. To be more precise, ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī’s status as the al-Mahdī was a development that unfolded in North Africa through the success of Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Shī‘ī, which added a new layer to the issue of his genealogy, already challenged by the Qarāmiṭa.

The Ismaili *da‘wa* in North Africa was on the verge of a great political success. Therefore, the emergence of the Mahdī was already expected and everything was prepared for such an

¹⁰¹ Halm, 1996, p. 109.

¹⁰² Ibn al-‘Idhārī, 1983, vol. 1, p. 154.

¹⁰³ Hamdani, 2006, p. 21.

announcement by the leadership of the Ismaili *da'wa*. The only problem was that according to the established Ismaili belief the Mahdī was supposed to be Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the seventh Imām and the *nāṭiq*, something that al-Mahdī tried to change and reform.

There are two different reasons that prove the Mahdīship of Sa'īd b. Ḥusayn was something developed during the course of the journey to the Maghreb. One of them is the titles that Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shī'ī used in his letters before and after meeting al-Mahdī. In his first letter sent to his people in Raqqāda, when he was negotiating the release of al-Mahdī in Sijilmāsa, Abū 'Abdullāh refers to al-Mahdī as the “son of the Prophet” and “one of His Proofs” (*ibn rasūl Allāh*) and a “*ḥujjat min ḥujaj Allāh*”:

“I was aiming towards Sijilmāsa after I cut and cleared its way, in order to fulfill God's right and implement one of his obligations, and reveal one of His *ḥujjas* on His land, and release the son of the Prophet from the hands of the ragtag and gangs...”¹⁰⁴

However, in another letter which he sent to Abū Zākī in Raqqāda on the order of al-Mahdī after he was released on his way through the Kutāma land, he refers to him as the Mahdī:

“This is my letter from the *dār al-hijra*, Iḵjān, the centre of the faith. The Imām, our master, the Mahdī Bi'llāh peace be upon him, arrived with his son, and through this God fulfilled the best of his wishes among all his faithful friends...”¹⁰⁵

This difference in reference to al-Mahdī's title before and after meeting him proves that initially Abū 'Abdullāh did not believe that the man he was going to free in Sijilmāsa was al-Mahdī. It should be remembered that before going to Sijilmāsa, Abū 'Abdullāh had met his brother Abū al-'Abbās who knew al-Mahdī and had accompanied him on his journey to North Africa.¹⁰⁶ He was also in contact with al-Mahdī during his journey to Sijilmāsa and when he was staying there, because Abū 'Abdullāh sent gifts for him and received messages as well.¹⁰⁷ The change in al-Mahdī's title after meeting him is an indication that not only he did not believe the person he was going to release was al-Mahdī, but also his brother Abū al-'Abbās

¹⁰⁴ Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 5, pp. 103-104.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁰⁶ Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, vol. 5, 1975, p. 98.

¹⁰⁷ Qāḍī Al-Nu'mān, 2005, p. 106.

who knew him and was his companion did not inform Abū ‘Abdullāh about the rank and the position of al-Mahdī.

The other reason is the challenges that was posed by close companions of al-Mahdī on his way to Maghrib. There were two senior people among those who were in al-Mahdī’s accompany and separated from him for different reasons. Their actions later on created problem and challenged the authority of al-Mahdī. One of them was Abu al-‘Abbās b. Aḥmad the elder brother of Abū ‘Abdullāh and the other one was Fayrūz who was in charge of al-Mahdī’s office as *Dā’ī al-du‘āt* in Salamiyya. Our primary sources, such as the *Sīra* of Ja‘far al-Ḥājib and the *Istīṭār al-imām* of Naysābūrī do not discuss the details of the reasons behind Abū al-‘Abbās’s opposition to al-Mahdī’s authority. In the *Sīra* we can find a very important paragraph on Abū al-‘Abbās’s background and the nature of his involvement in the Ismaili *da‘wa* headquarters in Salamiyya:

“He used to serve Abū ‘Alī in Egypt and acted as his courier to Fayrūz, the chief *dā’ī* of the Imām in Salamiyya, until Fayrūz asked the Imām to invite him after his long and great services to submit his allegiance. The Imām approved his request and took his allegiance from behind the curtain. Then the curtain was removed after taking the allegiance and he could see the Imām, al-Mahdī and Qā’im who was a small child -peace be upon them all-.”¹⁰⁸

This proves that Abū al-‘Abbās was a very senior individual in the *da‘wa* office in Salamiyya who knew the Imām before al-Mahdī, and therefore he was aware of all the affairs of the Imām and his office. However, before al-Mahdī’s ascending to power, we do not hear anything about his opposition to al-Mahdī. He was in fact al-Mahdī’s companion on his journey to North Africa, and for some reason he is separated from al-Mahdī in Tripoli. Therefore, the reason behind his opposition to al-Mahdī is not known. The fact is that on one stage in their journey to Maghrib, Abu al-‘Abbās separated his route and headed towards the Kutāma land with a group of Kutāma.¹⁰⁹ Was the opposition simply for political reasons, as al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān writes, after al-Mahdī limited the power of al-Shī‘ī and his brother over the affairs of the new

¹⁰⁸ Al-Ḥājib, 1939, p. 122.

¹⁰⁹ When al-Muṭṭalibī finished his trading and wanted to leave Sijilmāsa, al-Mahdī instructed him to meet Abū ‘Abdullāh when he has conquered Qayrawān and Raqqāda, and inform him about his arrival in Sijilmāsa. Since al-Mahdī and Abū ‘Abdullāh had never met before, al-Mahdī asked Muṭṭalibī’s son to accompany Abū ‘Abdullāh to Sijilmāsa. Although later on, Yasa‘ b. Midrār the governor of Sijilmāsa had suspicions about Mahdī’s identity, he respected him at first. Al-Mahdī always denied his identity and presented himself as a merchant. Finally, when Abū ‘Abdullāh approached Sijilmāsa, Yasa‘ b. Midrār ordered Mahdī to be separated from his men and kept them in separate houses. See *Sīra* of Ja‘far al-Ḥājib, p. 121.

state, which he created and then relinquished to al-Mahdī? Or was it something purely ideological that prevented him to accept the authority of al-Mahdī as the Imām or what he was claiming? Probably, it was a combination of both political and ideological reasons.

1.4 Later Reconstruction of the Fatimids' Origins

The identity of Mahdī and his genealogy is fundamental in establishing his authority and implementing the required changes that he is supposed to bring in the new era. For this reason, the genealogy of al-Mahdī and the Fatimid caliphs were in the heart of the discussions among their supporters as well as the rivals. Much has been said and written about the polemical account of Ibn Razzām against the genealogy of the Fatimids which was preserved in the works of Akhū Muḥsin in 372/982. Although Wladimir Ivanow discredited the whole account as a forged anti-Fatimid story, some aspects of the account correspond with Ismaili sources such as *Ghāyat al-mawālīd* written by al-Khattāb b. al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (d. 533/1138).¹¹⁰ According to al-Khattāb, before his death, Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq entrusted his son and heir Muḥammad to Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ as the *ḥujja* of the *daʿwa*. He was in charge of the *daʿwa* until the Imām reached his maturity. Just before the transfer of the *daʿwa* headquarter from Salamiyya to the Maghreb, ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl appointed Abū Saʿīd (later al-Mahdī) as his heir and died. However, the office was returned to the real Imām, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāʿim when al-Mahdī appointed him as his successor.¹¹¹ Although this argument helps to resolve one important issue in the early line of the Ismaili Imāma, it creates another ambiguity in the relationship of al-Mahdī and Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāʿim as father and son. Therefore, al-Khattāb's theory was probably presented to resolve the issue of succession in the Mustaʿlian line of Ismailism after the occultation of al-Ṭayyib, the infant of al-ʿĀmir b. al-Mustaʿlī. Contrary to al-Khattāb's suggestion, none of the sources close to the time of al-Mahdī questions al-Mahdī and al-Qāʿim's relationship as father and son.

The most striking account of ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī's genealogy is given by al-Mahdī himself. In this narrative, al-Mahdī completely rejects the legitimacy of Ismāʿīl's line of Imāma. This narrative is based on the information that Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman presents in his book *Kitāb*

¹¹⁰ See W. Ivanow's *Ibn Al-Qaddah: (The Alleged Founder of Ismailism)*, 1957.

¹¹¹ Daftary, 2007, p. 105-106.

al-farā'id. 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī sent a letter to the Yemeni *dā'ī* Ibn Ḥawshab after his victory in the North Africa in 297/910 and the letter has been preserved as a paraphrased text in the work by Hawshab's son, Ja'far Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-farā'id*. According to this letter, which has been studied and translated by A. Hamdani and F. de Blois, al-Mahdī states that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq did not reveal the name of his successor because of *taqiyya*, and therefore after his death different factions of his followers followed one or other of his sons. However, the real Imām was 'Abdullāh al-Aṭṭah, the eldest son. But this truth was not known to everybody and only a few people knew it. Since some hypocrites had attached themselves to the *da'wa*, the Imāms used pseudo names such as Ismā'īl and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. Therefore, each Imām was called Muḥammad and his father was Ismā'īl which alluded to 'Abdullāh. Therefore, 'Abdullāh was succeeded by his son 'Abdullāh, and he was succeeded by his son Aḥmad, and then Muḥammad. It seems that Ja'far's quote from al-Mahdī's letter ends here as he writes "these were the words of our Lord – God's blessings be upon him - in his letter".¹¹²

After this letter, he refers to another letter that he had received from "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad" who should be the Imām before Mahdī. Since this letter was signed by "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad", it constitutes a confirmation of al-Mahdī's statement in his letter. In the second letter, there is a reference to an important incident which does not seem to be present in the first letter, but covers from his own memory or probably an earlier letter from "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad" which he refers to. Ja'far confirms that at a certain period, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (who is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad) appointed his brother's son Sa'īd b. Ḥusayn as his successor and all the authority was bestowed upon him. When the propaganda was carried on his name and his ranks were known to the public, he revealed his name to be 'Abdullāh. This 'Abdullāh is the current Imām, al-Mahdī.¹¹³

Naysābūrī (b. 4th/10th century) has a quite different account of al-Mahdī's genealogy in his *Istīṭār al-imām*. Although his account also shows that the succession of the Imāms before al-Mahdī was a matter of dispute, but eventually it was resolved in an extraordinary way. He writes that after settling in Salamiyya, "Abdullāh [b. Muḥammad] dispatched his *dā'īs* to different regions and presented himself as a merchant. He had two sons, Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm. He appointed Aḥmad as the Imām after him. Aḥmad had two sons; Imām Ḥusayn who was al-Mahdī's father and Sa'īd al-Khayr. When Ḥusayn died, he deposited Imāma to al-Mahdī's brother, Sa'īd al-Khayr since his son was a child. Sa'īd became a tyrant and appointed his own

¹¹² Hamdani – de Blois, p. 176.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 177.

son as the Imām, but his son died. He appointed his nine other sons but all of them died. Then Saʿīd found out that the truth does not abandon its people and therefore he repented and gathered all his *dāʿīs* and informed them that he was a *mustawdaʿ* to al-Mahdī. He handed over the Imāma to him and confessed to what he had done before.”¹¹⁴ Although Naysābūrī’s account looks more like a fantasy, the only point that is worth noting in this account is the fact that the position of al-Mahdī was disputed between the cousins, and this is what was suggested in this study before at the beginning of this chapter.

This account of al-Mahdī’s genealogy was never accepted by the Fatimids themselves, and a few decades after the establishment of the Caliphate, a new official genealogy was presented. The most important document in this regard which contains the official position of the Fatimid Caliphs is a letter sent by al-Muʿizz to a *dāʿī* in Sind called Ḥalam (Jalam) b. Shaybān. This letter, which was quoted in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, refutes the story of Ibn Razzām and the Qaddāḥid genealogy of the al-Mahdī. Here again Al-Muʿizz argues as al-Mahdī did in his letter that during the spread of the *daʿwa* after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the Ismaili Imām used pseudonyms to conceal their identity, since the Abbasids were trying to stop the movement by destroying the progeny of Ismāʿīl. Therefore, the name ʿAbdullāh b. al-Qaddāḥ was used to refer to the son of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and similar names were used for his descendants.¹¹⁵ This account is a proof that even decades after the establishment of the Fatimid state in North Africa, still the issue of the origin of the Fatimid Caliphs was a matter of concern for different Ismaili communities. The dossier which was produced by the orders of al-Qāhir the Abbasid Caliph (d. 339/950) could have caused problems for the Fatimids. The above letter by al-Muʿizz could therefore be a response to that. Gradually the official version of their genealogy was accepted not only among the Fatimid Ismailis, but also by later historians such as Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī.

1.5 ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī and the Qiyāma

The foundation of the Ismaili *daʿwa* before the establishment of the Fatimid state was based on its messianic expectations. This interpretation of the Qiyāma in this context was specifically Ismaili, and was quite different from the mainstream interpretation of the

¹¹⁴ Al-Naysābūrī, 1916, pp. 95-96.

¹¹⁵ Daftary, 2007, p. 104.

concept which is based on the descriptions of different Qur'anic verses concerning the life after death in its eschatological sense. The Qiyāma in its Ismaili sense was understood as the final era before the end of the world, when the Qā'im reappears, and introduce reforms in the nature of knowledge and law as new characteristics of this world.

The idea that the Mahdī will change the life of the unprivileged people into a prosperous one and bring justice to their world filled with injustice and inequality enchanted not only the general population, but also some layers of the elites who could not tolerate the restrictions of the Sharī'a as defined and practiced by the *faqīhs* or the ruling literalists. The *da'wa* activities were so successful that the emergence of the Mahdī appeared imminent to many Ismailis. It was in this context 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī left Salamiyya. As we discussed before, probably he was taken by surprise by the advance of the Qarmaṭī army and it seems that he did not plan his journey in advance. However, the development of events convinced him that this was the best time to reveal his identity as the Mahdī. Ja'far al-Ḥājib tells us that one night when he was staying in Ramla after leaving Salamiyya, there was a meteor shower which al-Mahdī called one of his signs and proofs.¹¹⁶

The idea that Mahdī's reappearance would occur at a particular astronomical conjunction was a well-established idea in different Ismaili traditions, as we will see in the Qarmaṭī and the Nizārī traditions. Al-Baghdādī quotes a "*bāṭini*" astronomer known as 'Abdullāh al-'Ardī claiming that the 18th century [?] after Muḥammad's birth corresponds to the tenth millennium when the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter will take place. In this age, a man will emerge who will help the Persians to rule the world. This conjunction fits within the reign of the Abbasid Caliphs, al-Muktafī (d. 295/908) and al-Muqtadir (d. 320/932).¹¹⁷

It was during the same period that the Ismaili *da'wa* in different regions of Yemen, the Maghreb and Khurāsān were propagating the imminent rise of the Mahdī. When 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī announced that he was the Mahdī in Sijilmāsa, Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shī'ī and his army were in tears as they thought God had fulfilled his promise. The only thing that surprised Abū 'Abdullāh was that al-Mahdī had been writing to him before as the *ḥujja* of the Imām, and then he discovered that he was the Mahdī. In his letter to his followers in Raqqāda he wrote that "God has fulfilled the most precious wishes of the faithful" by the Mahdī's appearance,¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ "*wa qāla hādhihi al-nujūm iḥdā dalā'ilī wa 'alāmātī*". Sīra, p. 112.

¹¹⁷ Baghdādī, 1910, pp. 271-272.

¹¹⁸ *Uyūn al-akhbār*, vol. 5, p. 106.

because he could see that this event had turned his political victory into a spiritual victory as well. This was the beginning of the world which Abū ‘Abdullāh had been promising to his followers. In another letter that he sent to Qayrawān, he described this world and his aim:

“God knows, and He suffices as witness and cognizant, that my intention, my innermost thought, and my wish is to establish justice among the subjects, to do good to them and treat them with kindness... I pray that God will enable me to display equity and promote justice to such an extent that the wolf and the sheep will drink from the same watering place, that the enemy will meet with his enemy in a place out of satisfaction with justice and be reconciled with it; that travellers and caravans will travel without a guard or an envoy from the land of Egypt to the farthest outposts in the Maghreb, God willing.”¹¹⁹

This world is very similar to the world that the Qarāmiṭa tried to create in Bahrain according to what Nāṣir-i Khusraw reported, as well as the world the Nizārīs tried to create in Iran. However, this is not the only aspect of the world that is promised to be created by the Mahdī. The other important aspect of this vision is the fate of the Sharī’a which according to the Ismaili interpretation, will not be the same. We do not know to what extent al-Mahdī succeeded in implementing the justice promised for the subjects of the Fatimid state, but he did not agree with the idea of ending the Sharī’a during his rule as the Mahdī. For contextualizing the importance of the Qiyāma and the fate of the Sharī’a after the rise of the Mahdī, some of the ideas from early Ismaili sources dealing with this issue are explained here in order to understand the expectations the Ismailis had of Mahdī.

1.6 Qiyāma in the Fatimid Literature

The nature of the final era of religion which will begin with the rise of the Qā’im is one of the most important discussions in pre-Fatimid and Fatimid literature. A summary of the interpretations of this concept in the works of few Ismaili scholars whose works have come down to us is presented here.

¹¹⁹ *Iftitāḥ*, 2006, pp. 194-195.

In Sajistānī's thought, each cycle of a Speaking-Prophet (*nāṭiq*) is abrogated and completed in the sacred cyclical progression from Adam to the Qā'im.¹²⁰ Each cycle has a *nāṭiq* and an *asās*. 'Alī is both the Founder (*asās*) and the Imām. After the sixth Imām, the Qā'im who is Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl will emerge. Sajistānī uses the analogy of human growth to explain the nature of Resurrection or Qiyāma. For him, the stage of the Qiyāma is when the invisible forms emerge. In another word, when the meanings and the esoteric aspect of religion prevails in the world. In the same way that a baby in his mother's womb cannot comprehend the world outside the womb, before the Era of the Resurrection people would not understand its nature. In his thought, there are two classes of people; one group consists of those who believe in the Qā'im and await him, and the second of those who do not believe in him and disregard his rank. The first group will receive his light and rejoice in comfort in his era. The second group will be deprived of his grace and light and therefore will be punished and burn in his hell.¹²¹

Sajistānī also believes that the Qiyāma is the final assessment (*muḥāsaba*) of things when they reach their final stage. Usually the prophets at their beginning of their eras introduce new adjustments to the laws of previous prophets and do not judge the faithful. However, when it comes to the Qā'im, he requires the former *umma* (faith community) to report to him against what they were obliged to do in their faith. This is why he is regarded as the culmination of the prophets, and therefore he is known for being in charge of assessment (*muḥāsaba*) on the Day of Judgment (*yawm al-ḥisāb*). He would unite all different and opposing Sharī'as by revealing their hidden truths and change them into a single Sharī'a as one *umma*.¹²² This is why the Qiyāma is known as the "Day of Resolution" (*yawm al-faṣl*), since all disputes and

¹²⁰ There are some doubts about Sajistānī's adherence to the Fatimid cause as mostly he is considered to be a Qarmatī *dā'ī*. However, according to his *Kitāb al-iftikhār* which was written in 361/971 after the conquest of Egypt by the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz, Sajistānī acknowledges the Fatimid Caliphs as *khulafā'* who are below the rank of Imām, and represent him during the occultation (*ghayba*) of the Imām-Qā'im, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. This should be the reason that Sajistānī's works were preserved among those loyal to the Fatimid intellectual tradition. Sajistānī had a very strict belief in the number of Imāms and he could not accept the Fatimids as the Imāms. This is why he writes that "it is necessary that the number of Imāms in all periods remains at seven, because the absolute quantity is seven, which is: writing, surface, physic, time, place, number and speech. Since these divisions are necessarily in the absolute quantity [seven], and quantity is not found in divisions other than these mentioned ones, the number of Imāms must be equal to the number of these divisions". Accordingly, he comes up with a new category of the "*khulafā'*" who are not Imāms, but they represent the Imām during the "*ghayba*" era. (Sajistānī, 2000, p. 179)

¹²¹ Sajistānī, 1994, p. 102-103.

¹²² Sajistānī, 1966, p. 166-167.

oppositions between different groups and religions will be resolved by the Truth and its disclosure by the Qā'im.¹²³

From another perspective, by the emergence of the Qā'im as the seventh *nāṭiq*, the cycle of religion is completed and returns to its beginning which is the era of Adam. For this reason, the early Ismaili writers believed that the Qiyāma era will be similar to the era of Adam, when there was no Sharī'a (law). This idea is also shared by Sajistānī's predecessor, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/933-4) according to his *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*. Although al-Rāzī wrote this book in opposition to Nasafī's ideas on the Qā'im and the state of the Sharī'a during the seventh *nāṭiq*, the difference in their interpretation of the notion is minimal. Nasafī believed that Adam did not bring any Sharī'a, and the era of Adam and the final *nāṭiq* or Qā'im are the same in this respect. Al-Rāzī refused to lay great emphasis on the lack of Sharī'a in the era of Adam. He argued that since the cycle or the era of Adam was the longest era, it was impossible for him to guide his people without enacting any Sharī'a either in its exoteric or esoteric form. Each day of the week corresponds to one *nāṭiq*, and Friday as the seventh day corresponds to the seventh *nāṭiq* or the Qā'im.¹²⁴ Both al-Rāzī and Nasafī agreed that Friday is not a working day which signifies the absence of Sharī'a in the seventh cycle. However, contrary to Nasafī who believed the cycle of the seventh *nāṭiq* had already started by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl's first appearance, al-Rāzī said this was not the case. He also stated that the eras of the Qā'im and Adam share this feature of absence of Sharī'a:

“No sacred law preceded the first [enunciator-prophet], which he would have had to abrogate [but he did not have to do so]. And the last [enunciator-prophet] will not compose any sacred law, which he would have to abrogate [but will not have to do so]. Friday (*al-jum'a*) is not counted with them [i. e. other days]. Friday is unique in the name of feast (*bi-ism al-ibtidā'*).¹²⁵

The position of al-Rāzī on the state of law and the beginning of the seventh cycle is very close to what seems to be 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī's policy during his reign in North Africa. There are different reports about people who advocated certain ideas and practices which were associated with the Qiyāma era after al-Mahdī began his rule as the Mahdī. However, he never gave any room to these ideas and practices and did not allow his supporters to practice them

¹²³ Sajistānī, 1966, p. 168.

¹²⁴ Nomoto, 2009, p. 29.

¹²⁵ *Al-Iṣlāḥ*, quoted from Nomoto, 2009, p. 22.

freely. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān who expresses the official version of the events for the Fatimids writes that it was brought to al-Mahdī's attention that a group of Ismailis had put aside the Sharī'a obligations and considered the *ẓāhir* to have been abrogated. Al-Mahdī ordered their arrest and executed some of them and held some other imprisoned until they died.¹²⁶ We can find more details about this incident in Ibn 'Idhārī's history of North Africa, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*. According to his account, these incidents happened in three different places like Qayrawān, Bāja and Tunis in 309/921. The Ismailis whom he calls "*ahl al-tashrīq*" announced that everything that was prohibited was permitted and started drinking wine and eating pork in the middle of Ramaḍān. Since it created a great deal of controversy, the news of it even reached Abū al-Qāsim, the heir to the throne, when he was in Fayyūm. He reported the event to his father, al-Mahdī. Then he wrote to his governors in these cities telling them to arrest all of those who committed these unauthorized practices. He writes that among the important people who were part of this group was a slave dealer called Aḥmad al-Balawī who used to pray facing Raqqāda when al-Mahdī was staying there, and when he moved to Mahdiyya he was praying facing there, saying "I am not a person who worships a God that I do not see!"¹²⁷ Similar statements which signify some form of divine status for the Imām could be found in the Qarmaṭī tradition when a young Persian was declared as the Qā'im, as well as in the writings of Ḥamza b. 'Alī in the Druze literature and the writings of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma at Alamūt.

The reports about the celebration of the Qiyāma by these people show that they had a particular understanding of the Qiyāma era and the status of the Sharī'a after the emergence of the Qā'im. What al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and Ibn 'Idhārī are reporting suggests that for those who thought the Sharī'a was abolished the limitations on social conduct or physical pleasure such as drinking wine, eating pork and committing incest were also abrogated. It is not clear to what degree these reports are true, as this kind of accusations has been attributed to Ismailis generally, particularly after the Proclamations of the Qiyāma in all the traditions discussed here. On the contrary, the literature about the Qiyāma indicates extra emphasis on piety and ethics during this era. Looking at the surviving literature such as the *Rasā'il al-ḥikma* in the Druze tradition and the *Fuṣūl* in the Nizārī tradition, it is evident that they understood the Sharī'a as consisting of religious obligations (*takālīf*) in the form of rituals. There is nothing to

¹²⁶ al-Nu'mān, 2006, p. 229.

¹²⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī, 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 185-186.

indicate that the abolition of the Sharī'a in these different literary traditions included the abolition of the ethical codes, on the contrary there was an extra emphasis on them.¹²⁸

It is understandable that al-Mahdī did not approve of the implementation of the Qiyāma era expectations. He was going to rule an area with a predominantly Sunnī population who did not believe in the Ismaili interpretation of the Qiyāma. On the other hand, there was a degree of mistrust between him and some factions of the Ismaili community in North Africa. The fact that he called himself Mahdī and his successor al-Qā'im shows that he differentiated between these two figures and the role they play in the final era of the Qiyāma. All the Fatimid and the Qarmaṭī *dā'īs* and theologians who wrote about the concept of the Mahdī did not make any distinction between the figure of the Mahdī and the Qā'im. They were all in agreement that when the Qā'im comes, he will end the era of the Sharī'a and unite all different religions by revealing their hidden meanings.¹²⁹ However, it seems that al-Mahdī's perception of his position was that it was concluded with his political victory, and did not extend to any reform of the Sharī'a. We do not really know if the reason he called his son al-Qā'im was to postpone the religious reforms expected from him to the reign era of his son, as Halm suggests.¹³⁰ Even if we accept that he had such plans in mind, al-Qā'im never indicated any intention of implementing such revolutionary reforms. The severe opposition of al-Mahdī to the groups advocating Qiyāma practices proves that not only he was not ready for such reformation, but he did not even believe in such interpretations of the Qiyāma era. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān writes that after these events, he "tested the believers by closing the doors of his mercy to those who sought it."¹³¹ The actual result of closing "his mercy" was that many of the zealous members of the Ismaili *da'wa* who believed that he was the Mahdī were punished severely.

In his letter to his Yamani *dā'ī*, Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, al-Mahdī quotes a *ḥadīth* from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq that indicates he believed that the Mahdī and the Qā'im were two different characters with different functions. In response to a question about the number of the Mahdīs, he answers: "God would have made light of the family of Muḥammad if they produced but one Mahdī! On the contrary, we give you good tidings of the expected Mahdī through whom the truth will become powerful; [he is but] the first one who ascends the pulpit of his grandfather...."¹³²

¹²⁸ *Rasā'il*, Vol. 1, p. 65. And MS M ff. 23b-24b.

¹²⁹ Sajistānī, 1966, p. 167.

¹³⁰ Halm, 1996, p. 155.

¹³¹ *Iftitāḥ*, 2006, p. 229.

¹³² Hamdani, et al., 1983, p. 177.

Therefore, according to this account, the Mahdī is only the first person of the Imām's progeny who rises to the Prophet's pulpit and gains political power through the sword.

He also introduces a new reform in the traditional cycle of religions in the Ismaili *da'wa*. He writes that the Mahdī is in fact the Imām with political authority who comes between two speakers (*nāṭiqs*). The reason this Imām is necessary is that the Imāms before him had concealed their identities and therefore darkness had prevailed. For removing this darkness, Idris came between Adam and Noah; Peleg, the son of Eber between Noah and Abraham; Joseph, the son of Jacob between Abraham and Moses; Solomon, the son of David between Moses and Jesus, and finally Nebuchadnezzar between Jesus and Muḥammad. Therefore, Mahdī will be the Imām with political authority between Muḥammad and the Lord of the Resurrection.¹³³

In summary, al-Mahdī tried to reform three important aspects of Ismaili *da'wa* in his time. First of all, he rejected the principle pillar of the Ismaili *da'wa* by suggesting that the Imāms were not from the progeny of Ismā'īl, but from 'Abdullāh al-Aṭṭah. Secondly, he rejected another important element in Ismaili theology at that time on the number of the Imāms and said the number of the Imāms did not need to be limited to seven. Finally, he denied the need for only one Mahdī, on the basis of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's saying and therefore there could be number of Mahdīs in different times. He also differentiated the Qā'im from the Mahdī, and set his arrival in the future at the end of the world, alongside the return of Jesus.

1.7 Rival Mahdīs during the Fatimid Era

The conservative position of Mahdī regarding the Qiyāma and the questions regarding his authority as the legitimate Mahdī severed some factions of the Ismailis from the Fatimids. These factors directed the dissident Kutāmas to find a Mahdī according to their own standards and establish their independent "just state". The Kutāmas were disappointed, more than any other Ismaili group, as many of their chiefs were executed alongside Abū 'Abdullāh in 298/911 and their expectations of the new era led by al-Mahdī were not fulfilled. For this reason, a

¹³³ Ibid., p. 178.

faction of the Kutāma whom al-Nu‘mān calls “the remaining hypocrites” returned to the Kutāma lands and appointed a youth called Kādū b. Ma‘ārik as the new Mahdī around 299/912. They organised a *dār al-hijra* (*da‘wa* headquarters) for him and he dispatched *dā’īs* the same way that Abū ‘Abdullāh had done.¹³⁴ A book was also organized for him containing his Sharī‘a which was assumed to have been revealed to him. He became the new *qibla* as well, to which their prayers were directed.¹³⁵ Furthermore, they tried to take over other areas by force and were able to extend their territory from Iḳjān to Mīla and Quṣṭanṭīna. In this situation, ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī could not ignore these new developments because they could endanger the new Fatimid state. Alarmed by their actions, he sent an army to Mīla which was defeated by the rebels. Then he sent his son with a large army to suppress them. Before that, he appointed his son, known as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān who was only nineteen at this time as his successor or heir apparent with the new title “Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Qā’im”. Al-Mahdī entrusted him with the authority to undertake official responsibilities during his own life. Al-Qā’im was able to defeat the Kutāma and crush their army in Mīla, and bring the counter-Mahdī to his father who executed him.¹³⁶

The timing of announcing Abū al-Qāsim as the heir apparent with the meaningful new title of “Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Qā’im” by ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī elucidates the nature of the political threats to the new Caliphate and al-Mahdī’s responses to them. The news of the Kutāma and their new Mahdī which was spreading through the Fatimid territory in the aftermath of the execution of the charismatic Ismaili *dā’ī*, Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Shī‘ī, might have seemed a threatening challenge. In a way, the execution of Abū ‘Abdullāh was the beginning of a disconnection between the world he promised to his followers and what al-Mahdī was about to bring. The conservative policies of al-Mahdī in relation to al-Qā’im’s role and responsibilities added up an ideological disconnection with the past. It is possible that naming the heir apparent with the iconic title “Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Qā’im” was a response to these challenges, to address the unfulfilled expectations that some of his Ismaili followers had.

In a similar fashion, in Yemen ‘Alī b. Faḍl, the Ismaili *dā’ī* who had been converted to Ismaili faith while on pilgrimage in Karbalā, revoked his allegiance to ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī in 299/911 and claimed to be the Mahdī himself. He started his campaign as a *dā’ī* as early as 268/881 in

¹³⁴ *Iftitāḥ*, 2006, p. 226.

¹³⁵ Ibn ‘Idhārī, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 166.

¹³⁶ al-Nu‘mān, 2006, p. 227.

Yemen, where Abū al-Qāsim Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, known also as Ibn Ḥawshab was already operating as the chief *dāʿī*. These two Yemeni *dāʿīs* did soon fell out with each other and in the end Abū al-Qāsim Maṣṣūr remained in ʿAdan al-Lāʿa whereas ʿAlī b. Faḍl established his headquarters in Southern Yemen in Mudhaykhira. The claim of ʿAlī b. Faḍl of being the Mahdī was also a direct challenge over the authority of ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī since Fayrūz who had been in charge of the highest position in al-Mahdī's office was a close ally of ʿAlī b. Faḍl. Fayrūz was ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī's chief *dāʿī* who did not agree to accompany him to the Maghreb when they were in Egypt. He moved to Yemen in 291/904, and went to Abū al-Qāsim Maṣṣūr and he was well received by him. He was known to Abū al-Qāsim as a high dignitary from the Imām's headquarters in Salamiyya. However, after increasing disagreements between Ibn Ḥawshab and ʿAlī b. Faḍl, he joined the latter in Ṣanʿā¹³⁷

ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs tells us that Fayrūz, the former chief *dāʿī* of Mahdī tried to mislead Abū al-Qāsim, but he did not succeed. Therefore, he left him and went to ʿAlī b. Faḍl in Ṣanʿā.¹³⁸ Before meeting Fayrūz, ʿAlī b. Faḍl was believed to be loyal to ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī. However, around 291/904 which corresponds with the arrival of Fayrūz in Yemen, the signs of Ibn al-Faḍl's disloyalty to al-Mahdī were revealed. After referring to what Idrīs wrote about Fayrūz, al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān writes that “ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl renounced the cause of God and His friends, committed unlawful deeds, denied the exoteric and invited people to depravity.”¹³⁹ There is not much information on the details of Ibn al-Faḍl's “apostasy”, as all of the related information is given either by his Ismaili rivals or Sunnī adversaries. Daftary writes that he renounced his allegiance to ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī and claimed to be the Mahdī.¹⁴⁰ According to a poem that Nuwayrī quotes in his *Nihāyat al-irab*, ʿAlī b. Faḍl was believed to be a prophet who ends the Sharīʿa of Prophet Muḥammad, and overturns all the religious obligations. The author expresses his happiness at the fact that he does not need to stand up to pray, and that he can eat and drink when everybody else is fasting.¹⁴¹ We do not know if the author was himself an Ismaili or if he was just somebody who wrote what he had heard about the events surrounding the apostasy of ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, as the accusations he lists such as incest and other unusual practices are normally what the enemies of Ismailis have always attributed to them, but the Ismailis have always considered them to be baseless accusations.

¹³⁷ *Sīra* of Jaʿfar al-Ḥājib, 1939, p. 110.

¹³⁸ Idris, 1942, Vol. 5, p. 95.

¹³⁹ al-Nuʿmān, 2006, pp. 122-123.

¹⁴⁰ Daftary, 2007, p. 122.

¹⁴¹ Nuwayrī, 2002, Vol. 33, p. 98.

In the accounts of Jaʿfar al-Ḥāḥib and Naysābūrī nothing was said about the reasons behind Fayrūz's decision to abandon Maḥdī and go to the Yemen. Nevertheless, the accounts of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn and the deterioration of the relationship between ʿAlī ibn Faḍl and the Fatimids prove that Fayrūz, like Abu al-ʿAbbās, had not accepted ʿAbdullāh al-Maḥdī's authority as the Maḥdī. Probably Fayrūz raised the same doubts over the legitimacy of ʿAbdullāh al-Maḥdī's claims as Abu al-ʿAbbās did, which encouraged Ibn al-Faḍl to claim the position of Maḥdī himself.

The reforms to the concept of the Maḥdī-Qā'im and their differentiation by Maḥdī after ascending to power, which were in opposition to the established Ismaili belief could have been another reason for ʿAlī b. Faḍl's apostasy. The expectations of Ismailis from Maḥdī for proclaiming the Qiyāma similar to that of the Qarāmiṭa of Bahrain could have been another reason for Ibn al-Faḍl to end his allegiance to Maḥdī. Although, Halm does not mention the case of Fayrūz, he also gives these reasons as possible motives for ʿAlī b. Faḍl's actions. He refers to the letter that Maḥdī sent to Yemen around 297/910 as another important reason behind Ibn al-Faḍl's apostasy.¹⁴² One of modern scholars who has discussed the apostasy of ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl is Shainool Jiwa who has not accepted Halm's arguments. Instead she argues that his apostasy was a result of the clash between him and Ibn al-Ḥawshab, the other Yamani dāʿī, because they disputed with each other over authority in their territory.¹⁴³ However, the reason why such dispute over power should result in apostasy is not entirely clear.

In conclusion, the issues that we notice at the advent of the Ismaili movement in regard to the identity of the Maḥdī and the status of the Sharī'a display many similarities with those of other Ismaili apocalyptic events in later times. These two major issues shaped the nature of later interpretations of different kinds of Ismaili movements. Maḥdī's reforms created many controversies and divided the Ismaili movement in Iraq, Yemen and indeed North Africa. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that his conservative policies towards the role of Maḥdī and the fulfilment of the Qiyāma era provided him a better basis for making an alliance with the more conservative and hostile Sunnī communities in his territory. These could be the main reasons that the Fatimid state was able to survive longer than any other Ismaili state. At the same time, these reforms became the reasons that the Ismaili movement lost its appeal to the masses and became the religion of the elite. The reforms that later were introduced by Ḥamza b. ʿAlī in the Druze tradition and the Qiyāma Proclamation of Ḥasan II in the Nizārī Ismaili

¹⁴² Halm, 1996, p. 194.

¹⁴³ Jiwa, 1988, p. 58.

movement can be seen as a response to these early reforms which ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī implemented at the beginning of the Fatimid rule in North Africa.

2. The Qarāmiṭa and the “False Qā’im”



The first Ismaili group that openly declared the Qiyāma era in their state was the Qarāmiṭa of Southern Iraq and Bahrain. The facts of actual event of proclaiming the new era remain rather ambiguous in the literature. Therefore it is very difficult to draw a complete picture of different aspects of the event and the way it was presented. However, in scattered passages written in some Sunnī and Ismaili sources we can find important pieces of information that explain various aspects of this event and its meaning for the Qarāmiṭa. Madelung in his account of the early Ismaili *daʿwa* and the Qarāmiṭa of Bahrain argues that the actions of the Qarāmiṭa after the Proclamation of Qiyāma proved that the accusations of unbelief and libertinism by their enemies were not baseless.¹⁴⁴ It seems that modern scholars have accepted most of the narratives of Sunnī historiographers on the Qarāmiṭa.

By close examination of these accounts, we find many similarities between the Nizārī Proclamation of the Qiyāma in 559/1169 and the Qarmaṭī one in 319/931. It is not clear if the Nizārīs were influenced by the Qarāmiṭa literature in their Qiyāma declaration, but we can find certain pieces of evidence in the Nizārī and the Druze literature that show their doctrinal genealogy is rooted in the Qarmaṭī tradition rather than that of the Fatimids. There are ideological and political reasons in common between the Qarāmiṭa and the Nizārīs for proclaiming the Qiyāma, and the challenge following the aftermath of the Proclamation were also of the same nature. We will see that the questions over authenticity of the Qa'im and the

¹⁴⁴ Madelung, Wilferd, "The Fatimids and the Qarmatis of Bahrain" in *Medieval Ismaili History and Thoughts*, ed. Farhad Daftary, Cambridge University Press, (1996), pp. 21-74.

undoing of the Proclamation after a short period is arguably comparable with the Nizārī experience.

Before going into the issue of the Qiyāma Proclamation, it will be useful to explain how apocalyptic expectations reached a momentum in the Qarmaṭī movement and in what circumstances the Qiyāma event was unfolded.

The first Qarmaṭī *dā'ī* who operated in Bahrain was Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī (d. 301/913-914). He was originally from Gināwa, a coastal city in Fars and was recruited and appointed by Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ to spread the *da'wa* in Bahrain before 286/899. He was joined by another Qarmaṭī *dā'ī* called Zakariyyā' al-Ṭamāmī who was probably sent by Ibn Ḥawshab from Yemen. Abū Sa'īd started his campaign by organizing continuous attacks on Baṣra. Before this, he had been able to win the allegiance of some Arab tribes as well as Persian residents of al-Aḥsā' and Qaṭīf. Ibn al-Athīr records Jannābī's attack on Baṣra around 287/900.¹⁴⁵ According to him, he managed to defeat the Abbasid army and captured the city of Hajar where the Abbasid headquarters in Bahrain were located. The Abbasid Caliph, al-Mu'taḍid dispatched several armies to the Qarmaṭī territory in Southern Iraq and in South-West of Persia, and was finally able to reclaim Hajar in Bahrain in 290/903. Abū Sa'īd therefore decided to move his headquarters to al-Aḥsā'. Abū Sa'īd was succeeded by his younger son, Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān in 311/923. Abū Ṭāhir continued his attacks on the southern cities of Iraq, such as Baṣra and Kūfa. He even got as far north as Baghdad and threatened the Abbasid throne in 316/928, but was pushed back by the Abbasid armies.¹⁴⁶

The most horrific act attributed to the Qarāmiṭa of Southern Iraq is their attack on the *ḥajj* pilgrims in the holy city of Mecca. In Dhu al-Ḥijja of 317/930, Abū Ṭāhir sacked the city of Mecca and killed many pilgrims inside the Ka'ba. He also killed the governor of Makah, removed the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) from the Ka'ba and took it to al-Aḥsā'.¹⁴⁷ The Black Stone was not sent back until both the Fatimid and Abbasid Caliphs had negotiated a deal with Abū Ṭāhir and had paid him a large ransom to release and reinstall it in its original place.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, 1994, Vol. 6, p. 399.

¹⁴⁶ Muskūyah, 2003, Vol. 5, p. 104.

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Athīr, 1994, Vol. 7, p. 54.

¹⁴⁸ There are contradictory accounts of who managed to reach a deal with Abū Ṭāhir to get the Black Stone back. There is a letter of al-Mu'iz the Fatimid Caliph that shows he warned and encouraged the

2.1 The Proclamation of the Qiyāma

The importance of the Qarāmiṭa in this study is for the event of the Qiyāma Proclamation that took place during the reign of Abū Ṭāhir. There are not many details about this event as compared to the similar one in Alamūt, but the surviving information shows many similarities in different aspects of both events.

In Ramaḍān 319/September 931 Abū Ṭāhir introduced a young Persian man from Iṣfahān, known as Zakariyyā' or al-Ḥārith (Qarmaṭī sources) as the awaited Mahdī and handed over all authorities to him. He announced that that day was the end of the era of Islam and indeed all other religions. He also stated that they need to return to the religion of Adam, the father of Mankind. An eyewitness account of the event was passed on to us by Ibn Muskūya, according to Ibn Razzām. The eyewitness was a physician who happened to be in Bahrain at that particular time. Apart from some elements which show a degree of polemical exaggeration in the account, its general spirit is in accord with the similar event in Alamūt in 557/1169.

“I was treating patients in Qaṭīf when somebody told me ‘look what people are saying’! ‘They are saying that their Lord (*rabb*) has emerged.’ I came out and noticed people rushing towards Abū Ṭāhir b. Sulaymān’s house. There was a young good-looking man who was sitting on a white horse and had a Persian headgear. Abū Ṭāhir and his brothers were next to him and all other people were standing in front of them. Then Abū Ṭāhir stood up and shouted saying: O people! Those who know me, you know me, and those who do not; I am Abū Ṭāhir b. Sulaymān b. Ḥasan. Know that you and I have been donkeys so far! God blessed us by this (he pointed towards the young man) He is my Lord and your Lord; my god and your god; we are all his servants, and he has the command and owns what we have! Then everybody put soil on their head. Then Abū Ṭāhir said: O people! Know that the Religion has appeared and it is the religion of our father, Adam. All the religions we believed in before are false (*bāṭil*).”¹⁴⁹

Qarmaṭī leader to send back the stone. However, the majority of our sources confirm that it was sent back after Abbasids paid tribute to the Qarmaṭīs. See *The Fatimids and the Qarmaṭīs of Baḥrayn*, Madelung, W., in *Mediaeval Ismaili History and Thought*, ed. Farhad Daftary, 1996, p. 38.

¹⁴⁹ Ibn Muskūya, 2003, Vol. 2, p. 58.

There are a few points in this account which we can find in other similar events in Ismaili history. The first point is the timing of the announcement and the reappearance of the Mahdī. The reappearance of the Qā'im is usually predicted by means of astronomical information and astrological prediction. A similar explanation was presented for the Alamūt Declaration of the Qiyāma.¹⁵⁰ Al-Baghdādī in his *al-Farq bayn al-fīraq* refers to this astronomical calculation based on the Persian astrologer, Jāmāsp, in which he predicted 1500 years after Zoroaster the Persians (*al-'Ajām*) will regain their rule. He had predicted that power would first be handed over to the Romans and the Greeks under Alexander, and then it would return to the Persians. It would be transferred again to the Arabs and finally the ruling power would return to the Persians. According to this calculation, the Persians would regain power some time during the reigns of the Abbasid Caliphs, al-Muktafī and al-Muqtadir. Abū Ṭāhir was expecting the event to happen in 316/928, but it did not happen until Ramaḍān 319/931.¹⁵¹

The other important point here is that Ramaḍān had been chosen as the time of the reappearance of the Qā'im and the proclaiming of the Qiyāma, just as we see later in the Druze tradition and the Nizārīs of Alamūt. There is no reference in the accounts of the event as to why this month was chosen. However, we know that according to Islam, Ramaḍān is the month in which the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet. In other words, it is the month when Muḥammad's mission as a prophet began by receiving the revelation for the first time in the cave of Ḥirā' in 10 B.H./612 AD. According to the Qur'an, the revelation was revealed to the Prophet on "*laylat al-qadr*" (the night of power or measure).¹⁵² Therefore, they wanted to close the cycle of the Sharī'a in the month it began, when the Prophet received revelation for the first time. It is in such a context that the meaning of the Proclamation of the Qiyāma by Qarāmiṭa in Bahrain in regard to ending the era of the Sharī'a era can be better understood.

2.2 Challenges of the New Era

¹⁵⁰ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 1352/1933, pp. 40-41.

¹⁵¹ Al-Baghdādī, 1910, pp. 271-272. Sunnī writers usually accused the Ismailis of being the agents of the Persians and the Zoroastrians.

¹⁵² Qur' ān: (97:1).

The Qiyāma era did not last long in Bahrain because Abū Ṭāhir could not tolerate the new changes introduced by the new Qā'im, as these were so radical. According to the Muskūya's accounts, he introduced innovations such cursing Muḥammad and worshipping Fire. He also started killing certain Qarmaṭī notables and tribal heads so that Abū Ṭāhir feared for his own life. Therefore, he finally decided to kill the new Mahdī and declare him an imposter. This only happened 80 days after this Persian man (called Zakariyyā' in some sources) was appointed as the Qā'im.¹⁵³ After this humiliating event of the false Mahdī, the Qarāmiṭa continued their raids on pilgrims and neighbouring cities until they reached a deal with the Abbasids in 327/938. Abū Ṭāhir promised to stop attacking the pilgrims and return the Black Stone (*ḥajar al-aswad*) in return for a substantial amount of money and an annual tax levied on the pilgrims. However, the Black Stone was not returned to Mecca until 339/951.¹⁵⁴ Abū Ṭāhir died in 332/944, and his brothers ruled jointly for some period until Abū Ṭāhir's son, Sābūr, took power in 359/970. The Qarmaṭī state was overthrown by the Abbasids a year later.

2.3 The Qarmaṭī Practices during the Qiyāma Era

After the young Iṣfahānī was appointed as the Qā'im in the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrain in Ramaḍān of 319/October 931, he introduced many religious and social reforms. It is true that a few months after the announcement, Abū Ṭāhir had to execute the "Qā'im", due to unprecedented actions which were about to endanger the very existence of the Qarmaṭī state, but the event already seems inevitably to have imposed some changes on society which could not be taken back or undone. The most important change seems to be the status of the Sharī'a in the Qarmaṭī state. Apart from the information that come to us from the physician's account in the *Tajārib al-umam*, in which all religions were announced invalidated, there is more detailed information in the accounts of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Safarnāma* on the practices in the Qarmaṭī society after this event which explain the status of the Sharī'a as well as other socio-political aspects of their society more clearly.

¹⁵³ Muskūya, 2003, Vol. 5, p. 264.

¹⁵⁴ Madelung, 1996, p. 37. Also Daftary, 2007, p. 151.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 481/1088) was a prominent Ismaili *dā'ī* who travelled to Fatimid Egypt from Khurāsān during al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh's reign. He stayed there for four years during which he attended al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dīn's lectures and finally was appointed as the "*ḥujjat*" of Khurāsān, the highest rank before the Imām in Ismaili hierarchy. He left Cairo in 443/1051 and via the Ḥijāz, the Arabian Peninsula and Southern Iraq returned to Persia and started his mission in his homeland, Khurāsān.¹⁵⁵ Some doubts have been raised about the credibility of the *Safarnāma*'s account in general arguing that it was written for propaganda purposes.¹⁵⁶ However, Nāṣir-i Khusraw is a Fatimid *dā'ī* who could not agree with the Qarāmiṭa politically and ideologically. Therefore, his account of the Qarāmiṭa cannot be discarded as pro-Qarmaṭī or too positive towards them. In contrast to other works of Nāṣir such as his *Dīwān* in which he is quite explicitly biased in his theological positions, in the *Safarnāma*, he chose a more impartial language and tried not to let his ideological convictions intervene in his reports.

In his way back to Khurāsān, he passed through al-Aḥsā', a Qarmaṭī centre in Bahrain. He has a detailed account of his observations in this city which shed some light on some dark aspects of Qarmaṭī history and their social, religious and political practices at that particular time. A selection of his descriptions of the city of al-Aḥsā' is translated and quoted here. Important points in this account will be explained at the end.

2.4 The Description of al-Aḥsā'

"Al-Aḥsā' is a city of which all its suburbs and country are fortified. There are four strong mud walls around it one after another.... There are twenty thousand soldiers in the city. It is said that the Sulṭān was an 'Alid man (*sharīf*) who had banned the practice of Islam for the people, and had said: 'I removed prayer (*namāz*) and fasting (*rūza*) from you'. And he had preached to those people [saying] that 'I am your only reference'. His name was Abū Sa'īd. When one asked the people of this city 'What is your religion?', they would answer 'we are "*bū sa'īdīs*". They would not say the prayer or fast, but they recognize Muḥammad P.B.U.H. as the Prophet. Bū Sa'īd has told them 'I will come back to you again', meaning after death. His grave is in al-Aḥsā' city where a fine tomb has been built for him. He recommended to his children in his

¹⁵⁵ See Alice Hunsberger, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the Ruby of Badakhshan*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2003, p. 7.

¹⁵⁶ See Fīrūz Manṣūrī, *Nigāhī naw bih Safarnāma-yi Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, Chāpakhsh Publications, Tehran, 1372/1993.

will that all his six children should keep the kingdom and protect the public through justice, and should not oppose each other until he comes back. Now they have a great palace which is their headquarters, with a throne on which the six kings sit together and command jointly. They have six viziers who sit on another throne. They decide on matters in consultation with each other. At that time, they owned thirty thousand black slaves bought with cash. They engaged in farming and gardening. They did not tax people and if somebody was poor or in debt, they would take care of him until his condition improved. If somebody had borrowed money, he did not have to pay interest. If a stranger came to the city and had a profession, they would finance him so that he could buy the required tools and pay back the same amount of money as he wished. And if there were some farmers or millers whose property needed repair and they could not afford the renovation costs, they [the kings] would nominate their slaves to go and repair the property without any charge. There are mills in al-Aḥsā' belonged to the Sulṭān that grind grain for the people without any charge. The construction of mills and the millers' wages are paid by the Sulṭān. The Sulṭāns were called "sādāts", and their viziers "shā'ira".

In the city of al-Aḥsā' there was no grand mosque (*maṣjid-i ādīna*) and they did not perform the *khuṭba* and Friday prayer, except for the mosque which had been built by a Persian man called 'Alī b. Aḥmad, who was a rich ḥājī Muslim. The pilgrims who arrived there, he would take care of them. The trade in this city was based on lead. The lead was in baskets, and there were six thousand *dramsang*¹⁵⁷ in each basket. When they were trading they would count the baskets and take it, but nobody would take the money from the baskets.

Fine textiles are produced here which are taken to Baṣra and other regions. If somebody says the prayer they do not stop him, but they do not pray. When the Sulṭān is riding [in the city], whoever talks to him, he responds kindly and humbly. And they do not drink alcohol. They have tied up a horse saddled and reined, and keep it at the door of Bū Sa'īd's tomb in turn, day and night, so that when Bū Sa'īd rises he will ride on it. It is said that Bū Sa'īd has told his sons 'When I come and you do not recognize me, the sign will be that if you slash my neck with my sword I will not die. He has put this rule so that nobody would dare to claim to be Bū Sa'īd.

One of these Sulṭāns took his army to Mecca during the Baghdad's caliphs and captured the city and killed many of the pilgrims in the Ka'ba. Then he removed the Black Stone (*ḥajar al-*

¹⁵⁷ It is a traditional measure which is almost 4 grams.

aswad) from the wall, took it to al-Aḥsā' and then said: "This stone is a magnet for people, because it attracts them from all over the world. He did not know that it is the honour and the glory of the Prophet Muḥammad P.B.U.H which draws them there, since the stone was there for years and nobody went there. Finally, the Black Stone was re-purchased from them and was taken back to its original place.

In al-Aḥsā', the meat of all animals is sold, such as cats, dogs, donkeys, cows, sheep and so on. Whatever they sell, they would place the head and the skin of the animal next to its meat, so that the customer knows what he is buying. They raise the dog as a sheep, until it cannot walk out of fatness. Then they kill and eat it.

If you go eastwards from al-Aḥsā', in seven *farsangs* there is sea. If you go over the sea, you arrive at Bahrain. It is an island 15 kilometres in length. It is a big city with many palm orchards. Pearls are fished there in the sea. Whatever the pearl fishers fetch, half belonged to the Sulṭāns al-Aḥsā'."¹⁵⁸

2.5 Key Points in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Account

There are few points in this account about certain practices in the Qarmaṭī city of al-Aḥsā', which seem to be the consequences of the Qiyāma event and its meaning for the Qarāmiṭa. The first point in the *Safarnāma* is the abrogation of the Sharī'a. He says that Abū Sa'īd had told them that "he abolished the obligations of prayer and fasting for you". We know that at the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's visit in 443/ 1051, more than a century had passed since the Qiyāma event in 319/931. The Qarmaṭī state had lost much of its influence and power and was ruled by descendants of Abū Ṭāhir. Praying, "*namāz*", and fasting, "*rūza*", are the main obligations in the Sharī'a and observing these rituals is mandatory for all Muslims. There are 26 direct references in the Qur'an in which the faithful are ordered to pray: "And establish prayer and give *zakāt*" (2:277). However, after the Qiyāma Proclamation by Abū Ṭāhir in al-Aḥsā', this obligation seems to be abrogated. Nāṣir-i Khusraw tells us that they still "acknowledge the prophethood of Muḥammad". They would not pray themselves, but they

¹⁵⁸ *Safarnāmah*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī, Tehran, 1963/1984, pp. 147-151.

would not stop those who do so. Praying, “*namāz*” or “*ṣalāt*”, is interpreted as “attachment to the recognition of the Imām” in some Ismaili sources.¹⁵⁹ Therefore they saw this as a stage beyond that of the Sharī’a in which the inner meaning of religion is revealed.

The next point in the account is the idea of the re-appearance of Abū Saʿīd. There is confusion here over the Qarmaṭī belief about the identity of the Mahdī. The established belief among the Qarāmiṭa is that they always believed that the Qā’im or Mahdī was Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.¹⁶⁰ It is very hard to believe that Nāṣir-i Khusraw was careless or he did not know their beliefs. One possible assumption could be that his account is based on the unofficial beliefs prevalent among ordinary people who did not know much about the details of the Qarmaṭī doctrines. The other possibility could be that the Qarmaṭī teachings went through different changes and modifications over time. This possibility increased when we remember that the imposter Mahdī who was introduced by Abū Ṭāhir was said to be a Persian from Iṣfahān. Nāṣir does not tell us that they claimed that this Mahdī was Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl or even one of his progeny. In the case of Ḥasan II in the Nizārī branch of Ismailism, an effort was made to introduce him as a grandson of the Imām-Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi’llāh. However, it should not be forgotten that there are accounts in different sources that say that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl’s children were hiding in Persia. Particularly, the Kāshānī or Ṭāliqānī origin of the Mahdī is reported in these sources.¹⁶¹ This could be the reason behind introducing a Persian man as the Qā’im which demonstrates that they attempted to prove he was an Imām from the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.

The issue is less complicated in the case of Ḥamza b. ‘Alī in the Druze tradition who claimed to be the Qā’im, in spite of not being a blood relation of the Ismaili Imāms. However, it did not create the same issues since they designed their doctrine on a completely different basis in which the Imām’s status changed into something close to the divine or its manifestation, and

¹⁵⁹ There is such belief in the Nizārī tradition as well. See Abū Ishāq Quhistānī, *Haft bāb*, 1957, p. 53.

¹⁶⁰ The point here, which is rather strange is the idea that the Qarmaṭī Sulṭān was a *sharīf*, which means they claimed descent from the Shīʿī Imāms. If this idea is accurate and the people of al-Aḥsāʾ did believe that Abū Saʿīd was a member of the family of the Imāms, then we can find an earlier example of Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām who was also declared to be the Imām by his son and successor, A’lā’ Muḥammad after his death. Although in the case of the Qarmaṭīs we know that the Qā’im was not Abū Saʿīd, but a Persian man known as Iṣfahānī who later opposed Abū Ṭāhir and executed, the idea that the important task of introducing the Qiyāma era needs to be undertaken by the Imām is the same. We can see a similar case in the case of Ḥamza b. ‘Alī in the Druze tradition as well.

¹⁶¹ Bīrūnī, 2007, Vol. 1, p. 318. See also Ibn Khaldūn, 1987, Vol. 3, p. 352.

therefore the Qā'im did not need to be from the Imām's family. In other words, they shifted the Ismaili hierarchy in such a way that the issue of genealogy did not arise.

Similarly, another proposition could be that they believed in the distinction between the Imām and the Qā'im. Therefore, it was not necessary for the Qā'im-Mahdī to be a descendant of an Imām. However, there is evidence in Ibn Ḥawqal's account that suggests they differentiated the Imām from the descendants of Abū Sa'īd. Ibn Ḥawqal's account explains how the annual income was divided among the Qarāmiṭa. He writes that the fifth of the state revenues were assigned to the "Lord of the Time" (*Ṣāhib al-zamān*):

"When they decide to divide what they receive as annual income, which still now happens on a certain day, they separate one fifth as for the Lord of the Time "*Ṣāhib al-zamān*", and three fifths to Abū Sa'īd's sons based on their own measures, and the remaining fifth to the Sanābira (the sons of Sanbar), submitted to Abī Muḥammad so he divides it among the children of his father and his children."¹⁶²

To sum up the issue of Abū Sa'īd as the Mahdī, we can conclude that, according to the *Safarnāma*, it seems that factions of Qarāmiṭa had different interpretations concerning the identity of the Mahdī. Although the Qarmaṭī theologians believed that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was the Mahdī and would come back at the end of the world, in this particular time the ordinary Qarmaṭī people adhered to the belief that Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī, the founder of the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrain who was not of the progeny of the Imāms will reappear as the Mahdī in the future.

The last point in Nāṣir-i Khusraw's account of al-Aḥsā' which seems relevant to our discussion here concerns his observations on the political structure and on social justice in this Qarmaṭī city. We know that the most ambitious outcome of the Qiyāma and the re-appearance of the Mahdī was justice and creating an egalitarian society. The way Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes different aspects of life in al-Aḥsā' implies that he is describing such promised society. Some modern scholars have stated that Nāṣir's observations show that clannish particularism which made the Arab tribes into tribal confederations was absent in al-Aḥsā', something that

¹⁶² Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Manshūrāt al-Dār al-Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, Bairut, 1979, p. 33.

Safarnāma's account supports as well.¹⁶³ However, Nāṣir does not hesitate to show his disagreement with the Qarmaṭī beliefs, when he talks about the Arab army and their enquiry about the right astrological time to attack al-Aḥsā'.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, he has been positive when recording his observations in general.

Another important observation concerned the structure of power which were based on six kings, and six viziers. He says that there was a throne on which six kings sat and on another one for six viziers, who all jointly took decisions. He tells us that Abū Sa'īd had asked his children to govern the Qarmaṭī kingdom jointly after his death.¹⁶⁵ This was not a practice that could be found in the surrounding territories, even in the Fatimid state of Egypt. This was one of the reasons why modern Russian orientalists called the Qarāmiṭa state of Bahrain the first socialist state in Islamic history.¹⁶⁶ Although the idea of rule by councils was not one of the features of the society that the Qā'im was going to create, Nāṣir's account presents it as another proof of justice in this city which was different from the other forms of governments in the region. In addition to this, there was no tax system in al-Aḥsā'. Nāṣir-i Khusraw says that people did not pay the tithe, and whoever was poor or in debt, the government would take care of him. They also did not charge interest for loans, and the borrower only paid the capital. The state supported the artisans and people with professions and if there were any damages to their business, the state would intervene and undertake the costs. These accounts show that the Qarāmiṭa not only introduced doctrinal reforms in their society, but also they were trying to bring social and political reforms into their society as well. However, it would be wrong to assume the Ismaili *da'wa* was based on a class struggle, as some Russian orientalists have argued.¹⁶⁷ The idea of the Qiyāma and the reappearance of the Mahdī as a way of creating a just and egalitarian society based on the esoteric meaning of Islam had magnetic attraction for people from different social groups. Those who were deprived of social and economic privileges were attracted to the promised social justice of the Qā'im, and those who could not tolerate any aspects of religion which looked superstitious and irrational to them were charmed by the Qā'im's promise of the creation of an esoteric society, a society

¹⁶³ Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century Ce*, BRILL, 2001, pp. 70-71.

¹⁶⁴ *Safarnāmah*, 1984, p. 152.

¹⁶⁵ This was not the case during the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's visit.

¹⁶⁶ Petrushevsky, 1972, p. 295.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 352

in which the veils of “signs” and “rituals” would be removed and the *bāṭin* of religion would be unveiled.

3. The Druze and Ending the Sharī'a



The formation of the Druze movement is very important in understanding the significance of the interpretation of the Qiyāma in Ismaili history, and its possible influence on the Qiyāma Proclamation of the Nizārī Ismailis at Alamūt. The Druze case of the Qiyāma is the closest to the Nizārīs' in chronological terms as well as in its ideological framework such as the mystical dimensions of the Qiyāma as well the relationship of the Imām to the divine. Furthermore, by comparing the Druze literature with that of the Nizārīs, we come across many similarities in the way they propagated and articulated their doctrines. The ethical framework that replaced the Sharī'a obligations and the stress on the spiritual life and union with God as its ultimate goal, even the use of terms such as "*Mawlānā*" and "*Alā dhikrihī al-salām*" in reference to the Imām suggests that they relied on shared cultural sources or literature. Historically, there is a gap of one and half centuries between these two declarations of the Qiyāma. We do not know how much of Druze literature was available to the Nizārīs, but we know that they were actively inviting different Ismaili communities in the East to their cause through letters that have been preserved as part of the *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*. The fact that there are many debates on the origins of the Druze and their possible Persian connections in the scholarship of the field is a proof for this cultural shared ground.¹⁶⁸ After a brief historical overview of the Druze movement in this chapter, their understanding of the Qiyāma will be discussed based on their literature; particularly those concepts and ideas that became part of the Nizārī tradition as well one and half centuries later.

¹⁶⁸ See Philip K. Hitti, *Origins of the Druze People and Religion*, AMS Press, New York, 1966.

3.1 Historical Overview

The Druze movement, as an Ismaili religious reform movement in Fatimid Cairo began publicly around 408/1017 towards the end of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh's reign. According to the Druze tradition, the actual beginning of the movement was in 400/1009, when the theoretical framework of the new *da'wa* was formulated. There is disagreement between different scholars on whether the Fatimid Caliph had any role in the formation of the movement or whether it grew as a result of the initiatives of individual Ismaili *dā'īs*. There is significant evidence supporting both sides of the argument. No matter how much of a role al-Ḥākim had in the formation of the Druze movement, the fact that he was at the centre of the dispute cannot be ignored in any historical analysis. Kais Firro in his "A History of the Druze" writes that ninety years after the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate, five caliphs came but the messianic realm remained unfulfilled. By the time of al-Ḥākim Bi Amr Allāh (r. 996-1021), the Ismailis felt that they had been waiting long enough for the Qā'im-Mahdī.¹⁶⁹ The popularity and the spread of the Druze ideas was certainly due to such expectations that had not been fulfilled hitherto.

Apart from these unfulfilled expectations, there are some indications within the Druze literature that the supporters of the Druze *da'wa* could have come from a Qarmaṭī origin and joined the Fatimids after the crushing of the Qarmaṭī state in Bahrain by the Abbasids in 365/976.¹⁷⁰ We know that most of the leaders of the new movement were of Persian and Turkish origin, such as Nashtakīn al-Darazī, Ḥamza b. 'Alī and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Farghānī who is sometimes referred to as al-Akhram. Al-Akhram is believed to have had arrived in Cairo in 408/1017 and was able to obtain a high position in al-Ḥākim's court. The Sunnī historians accuse him of propagating al-Ḥākim's divinity. Nevertheless, his propaganda was not tolerated by the Sunnīs who incited a Turkish man to kill him when he was accompanying al-Ḥākim as he passed through the streets of Cairo.¹⁷¹ The other leader is Nashtakīn al-Darazī al-Bukhārī by whose name the movement is known. He was a tailor (*darzī* in Persian) who called himself "Sayyid al-Hādiyyīn". He was able to convert prominent figures at al-Ḥākim's court and probably for this reason he was assumed to be the leader of the movement. He was

¹⁶⁹ Firro, Kais, *A History of the Druzes*, Vol. 1, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1992, p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 116. This point will be discussed in more detail later when the framework of their ideology is discussed.

¹⁷¹ al-Maqrīzī, 1393/1973, Vol. 2, p. 113.

killed by the mob during the riots of 409/1018. The last leader is Ḥamza b. ‘Alī who was originally from Zūzan of Khurāsān, and was finally acknowledged as the leader or the “Hādī al-Mustajībīn” of the Druze. We do not know when exactly he came to Egypt, but he is considered to be one of the trusted *dā’īs* of al-Ḥākim. Nuwayrī writes that whenever al-Ḥākim passed by the mosque where he was based, he would stop there and talk to him, and therefore his status was elevated.¹⁷²

Before discussing how much al-Ḥākim was involved in the new movement, we need to look at the way he ruled Egypt and the policies he tried to implement when he succeeded his father. Al-Ḥākim’s character has been always a matter of controversy among different Muslim historiographers. There is a good amount of literature published by modern scholars, both from the Druze tradition as well as academia which presents in-depth research on the history of the Druze and their intellectual traditions. The works of scholars such as al-Makarem and Abu Izziddin who have had access to the internal sources of the Druze community have provided important information about misunderstood aspects of the Druze tradition as well as giving a perspective from inside this community. Marshall G. Hodgson also made a good attempt at examining the role of different influential figures in the formation of the Druze movement in his important article “Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion”¹⁷³ in which he discusses important points about the role of al-Darazī in converting influential figures at al-Ḥākim’s court to the *da’wa* which is usually ignored. The fact that the movement is known by al-Darazī’s name is itself a proof of his important role in the Druze cause; something that the Druze writers have been reluctant to give him enough credit for. It is probable that had al-Darazī not been killed in 408/1017 in the aftermath of the riots in Cairo, Ḥamza would not have had the position that he now has in this movement.

The actual beginning of the Druze movement cannot be identified as it was developed in the closed circles of some Ismaili *dā’īs* over a period of time. However, it became an open religious movement in 408/1017 when Nashtakīn al-Darazī, a Turkish *dā’ī* from Bukhārā declared the divinity of al-Ḥākim. However, this movement evolved in the socio-political context of al-Ḥākim’s reign and his particular understanding of his role and status which gave rise to such ideas, in such a way that often this movement has been referred to as the “al-Ḥākim Cult”.

¹⁷² Nuwayrī, 1423/2002, Vol. 28, p. 198.

¹⁷³ JAOS, Vol. 82, 1962, pp. 5-20.

3.2 Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh and his Apocalyptic Zeal

Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh succeeded his father al-ʿAzīz in 386/996 when he was only ten years old. By the end of the al-ʿAzīz's rule, the Fatimids had reached their ultimate geographical extent which stretched from the Maghreb in the West of Africa to the North of Syria in the East and from Egypt in the North to Yemen and the Ḥijāz in the South. They were able to subdue the Qarāmiṭa of Bahrain in Syria and confine them to their limited territory in Southern Iraq. Even for a short period of time, the ʿUqaylids who had taken over Mūsīl from the Ḥamdānids read the *khuṭba* in their name. Similarly, in Multan in the far east of the Islamic lands, the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Fatimids. From the military point of view, the Fatimids had reached a milestone which made them a major threat to the Abbasids in the East and the Byzantines in the North. It was in such circumstances al-Ḥākim succeeded his father at the age of eleven.

When he was nominally the Caliph, his powerful *wāsiṭa* called Barjawān was the actual ruler for four years. In 390/1000 when al-Ḥākim was only fourteen years old and unhappy with the way he was confined to his palace, he had Barjawān executed and gained his independence. This incident should be regarded as the beginning of a new era, one that shaped al-Ḥākim's reign and his personality. We do not know how much the above date influenced al-Ḥākim's actions and policies, but somehow the year 1000 and the millenarian connotations of the policies adopted by this Fatimid Caliph seem more than a coincidence.

Five years after this, in 395/1005 he issued decrees in which he imposed some restrictions on the Sunnīs, Christians and Jews. Although he abandoned his anti-Sunnī policies in 399/1008 and tried to make a reconciliation between the Sunnīs and the Shīʿas, the persecution of the Jews and the Christians is reported to have continued for longer.¹⁷⁴ These policies are reasons his opponents gave for accusing him of insanity. However, closer examinations of these policies alongside some of his remaining decrees suggest that all of them were in line with his perception of the role he wanted to play as a religious reformer or the "Qā'im".

In one of the epistles of *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*, there is an account of a discussion between al-Ḥākim and a group of Jewish and Christian scholars which explains al-Ḥākim's reasons for the

¹⁷⁴ Abū Izzedin, 1993, p. 80.

persecution of these communities. The discussion took place during one of al-Ḥākim's casual rides in Cairo when he was confronted by a group of "*ahl al-dhimma*" who raised questions over al-Ḥākim's unprecedented policies towards the Jews and the Christians, asking why he did not respect the laws that were introduced by the Prophet of Islam which all those previous Caliphs had implemented towards the Jews and the Christians. In reply he says:

"Have you not been waiting for my era, wishing for salvation through my appearance? However, when I appeared among you, revealed my call and God's order, you opposed me, repudiated me and treated with me like hypocrites. A group of you fought against me and another group of you abandoned me in jealousy and animosity as other rebellious people have done in the past. Whenever somebody like me reveals a tradition the exploiters neutralize it, starting with the Satan against Adam."¹⁷⁵

We do not know how accurate historically this account is, but considering the importance of preserving the writings or sayings of al-Ḥākim for the Druze, and other indications in the life of al-Ḥākim, there is almost no doubt that his policies were based on his perception of his role as the Qā'im, who was expected to unify all religions by abrogating the previous ones. Even in the writings of Abū Ḥamīd al-Kirmānī on the refutation of the Druze, there are references to the above story where he tries to defend the belief that al-Ḥākim is the person mentioned in the Old Testament who rides on a donkey and enforces the good. However, al-Kirmānī did not believe he was the "Qā'im" as the era of Islam had not ended.¹⁷⁶

It would not be accurate to believe that whatever the Druze believed and did was according to al-Ḥākim's orders, but at the same time it is very hard to ignore all the connections between al-Ḥākim's policies and the ideas advocated by the Druze leaders. Changes of policies that we notice during his reign show that he wanted to satisfy his followers and at the same time minimise the backlash when there was too much opposition. Therefore, the persecutions of Sunnīs halted after four years in 399/1009, after the proclamation of another decree which made concessions to the Sunnīs in the hope of unifying the Shī'as and the Sunnīs. The real reasons for these restrictions can be found in the decrees issued by al-Ḥākim. By comparing them with the beliefs and doctrines propagated by the Druze a clear link can be found between them which confirms the apocalyptic tendencies of this Fatimid Caliph.

¹⁷⁵ *Rasā'il*, 1986, Vol. 1, p.41 (*Khabar al-Yahūd wa al-Naṣārā*).

¹⁷⁶ Kirmānī, *Mabāsīm al-Bishārāt*, 1983, p. 124.

The Druze's belief in the divine manifestation of al-Ḥākim is rooted not only in traditional Ismaili belief, but in the statements of al-Ḥākim as well. In the year 400/1009, al-Ḥākim issued a decree in which he announced his spiritual experience of divine epiphany by claiming that “his being was annihilated in his spiritual witness with God” (*ghāba bi shuhūdihī ‘an wujūdihī*).¹⁷⁷ What this statement is saying about al-Ḥākim is similar to what some Sufis such as Ḥallāj and Bā-Yazīd Baṣṭāmī also said, and similarly they were accused of claiming divinity for themselves. According to these Sufis, they could reach a level of spirituality called “*fanā’ fi-Allāh*”, in which the Sufi's existence is annihilated in God. Therefore, when Ḥallāj said “*ana Allāh*” (I am God), it was not he who was saying that, but in fact these were the words of God Himself. This statement was probably used by the Druze later to support their belief in al-Ḥākim's divinity. In fact, this interpretation of the Qā'im and his relationship to God is very similar with what we can see in the Nizārī tradition as well. However, with some modifications in that, the Qā'im was considered to be the manifestation of the God's Command (*amr*) not God Himself.¹⁷⁸

3.3 Al-Ḥākim and his Attempt to Establish Social Justice

Another important aspect of al-Ḥākim's reign was his particular way of implementing justice as an important dimension of the Qā'im's role and the expectations surrounding it. Almost all of the chroniclers' accounts acknowledge his excessive enforcement of justice. Some fragments of writings in Hebrew from this age speak of “unparalleled” justice with apparent sincerity.¹⁷⁹

The implementation of justice mainly depended on the appointment of the right al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāt (the chief judge). In 405/1014, al-Ḥākim appointed Ibn Abi al-‘Awwām, a Mālikī Sunnī jurist as the al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, someone who knew the Egyptians very well and they trusted

¹⁷⁷ Izzeddin, 1993, p. 102.

¹⁷⁸ Tūsī, 1999, p. 36.

¹⁷⁹ Hodgson, 1962, p. 18.

him too. Al-Ḥākim appointed him to a position which had been always occupied by Ismaili jurists, mainly from the family of al-Nu'mān who joined 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī in North Africa.¹⁸⁰

His implementation of justice and reform was not limited to the public domain. His reforms also extended to his own court and household. In 399/1009 he confiscated the possessions of all the women in his palace to prevent intrigues against him.¹⁸¹ However, the most extraordinary reforms came five years later in 404/1013, when he freed all his male and female slaves and gave a substantial amount of the royal lands and property to the ordinary people. He also appointed 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās b. Aḥmad, the grandson of 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī as his heir, depriving his own son 'Alī of the succession.¹⁸² It seems that these controversial policies created dissatisfaction not only within his own family, but also among the established Ismaili elites and his courtiers. One of the reasons that we see many officials appointed to positions from which after a short period of time they are dismissed and then sometimes executed by al-Ḥākim could be the volatile relationship between al-Ḥākim and the established courtiers and influential families, which created rivalry and antagonism. Among these victims, we can refer to the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Mālik b. Sa'īd from the family of al-Nu'mān. Al-Maqrīzī writes that the reason for his execution was that he sympathised with Sitt al-Mulk, al-Ḥākim's elder sister, when the relationship between al-Ḥākim and his sister had deteriorated.¹⁸³ In the same year another prominent official called Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. Wazzān who held the position of Amīn al-Umanā' was executed on al-Ḥākim's orders in his palace. According to some accounts during this period, when al-Ḥākim was giving away most of his belongings as gifts and alms to the people, Ibn Wazzān did not follow his instructions on the distribution of the royal wealth. Al-Ḥākim wrote a letter to him telling him to "give away what you have as God's [reward] is preserved. The belongings are God's and the people are His children and we are His trustees on earth. Distribute the goods to the people and do not withhold it."¹⁸⁴

Apart from these sudden autocratic decisions by al-Ḥākim that in the eyes of his followers were signs of justice, he had developed a tendency for the ascetic life too. In 404/1013, he stopped wearing expensive clothes and jewelry and adopted a modest way of clothing, like that of the Sufis. He rode on a donkey instead of horses. He would ride in the streets of Cairo

¹⁸⁰ al-Maqrīzī, 1973, Vol. 2, p. 108.

¹⁸¹ Abu Izzudin, 1993, p. 79.

¹⁸² Al-Maqrīzī, 1973, Vol. 2, p. 101.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 97.

without a large entourage and converse with different people who had demands or complaints about anything or anybody. According to these accounts which are not questioned by any source, al-Ḥākim may have been very popular among ordinary people and the poor. However, the reports that we find in different sources about his character are usually negative. Although we cannot deny the impact of ideological differences between the Fatimids and the Sunnī historiographers in their attempt to give a negative character to this Fatimid Caliph, the change of policies by al-Ḥākim who sometimes produced contradictory policies within a very short period of time also played an important role in shaping these accounts. Furthermore, al-Ḥākim had created enemies for himself not only among the established Ismaili elites, but also among close members of his family, such as his sister and son. His intimate relationship with a group of Ismaili *dā'īs* who were not of Arab origin, and came from Persian or Turkish regions, who were considered to be radicals and extremists provoked both Sunnīs and conservative Arab Ismailis to turn against him too. From this point of view, we can see strong similarities between al-Ḥākim's reign and that of Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām in Alamūt, as both had strong inclinations for the ascetic life and religious and social reform, which at the same time turned the members of their families against them.¹⁸⁵

3.4 Beginning of the New *Da'wa*

Although the ideological aspects of the Druze *da'wa* began some years earlier, they started their struggle as a socio-political movement in 408/1017. It is reported that around 408/1017, al-Ḥākim stopped attending the Majālis al-Ḥikma and according to the Druze accounts, he ordered his followers to make the new *da'wa* public.¹⁸⁶ A few months later, Nashtakīn al-Darazī who called himself "Sayyid al-Hādiyyīn" publicly declared the divinity of al-Ḥākim and urged his followers to spread the new *da'wa* through raising arms. As a result, there was a great riot in Cairo and al-Darazī and many of his followers were killed. Before the riot, a rivalry between al-Darazī and Ḥamza b. 'Alī who was probably older than al-Darazī had arisen over leadership of the movement. It seems that Ḥamza did not agree with al-Darazī's policy of advocating violence for propagating the movement.¹⁸⁷ On the death of al-Darazī, Ḥamza declared himself

¹⁸⁵ MS P1, p. 176.

¹⁸⁶ Abu Izzeddin, 1993, p. 101.

¹⁸⁷ Hodgson, 1962, p. 10

the Imām and the “Hādī al-Mustajībīn”. As strong opposition to the new movement created chaos and insecurity throughout Cairo, al-Ḥākim ordered to stop the preaching of the new *da’wa* in 409/1018. However, a year later, Ḥamza restarted the call and consolidated his leadership over different Ismaili communities that had already joined the movement in the mountain regions of Shām and Wādī al-Taym. Again, riots escalated in Cairo and a group of Turkish armed men attacked Ḥamza’s headquarters in al-Raydān Mosque, where he was able to hold out for a while, but in the end had to escape. There are some reports saying that he took refuge in al-Ḥākim’s palace and al-Ḥākim hid him there. The armed Turkish opponents who were after him asked al-Ḥākim to hand over Ḥamza and he promised to do so the next day. However, when they went to him again, he told them he had been killed.¹⁸⁸

Although there may be doubts over the credibility of such reports, in the eyes of al-Ḥākim’s opponents the whole Druze movement and its leadership were seen as something orchestrated by al-Ḥākim promoting his own “cult”. Not long after, on the night of 27th of Shawwāl 411/1021, al-Ḥākim left his palace with his servant to go to al-Muqaṭṭam hills and never came back.¹⁸⁹ Based on the Druze tradition, he went into hiding in the desert.¹⁹⁰ The Sunnī historiographers have different accounts of how he was murdered. The favourite story is that he was killed on the orders of his elder sister, Sitt al-Mulk, who is said to have commissioned some people to kill him when he was out on one of his night excursions.¹⁹¹ Maqrīzī discredits this report and attributes it to “*al-mashāriqa*”. Nevertheless, he confirms that al-Ḥākim was killed by a man from the Banī Ḥusayn who was arrested four years after al-Ḥākim’s death and confessed to his crime.¹⁹² The fact is that al-Ḥākim had created numerous enemies within his establishment and different communities in Cairo so that any of these reports seems equally possible. Considering al-Ḥākim’s style of rule and way of life, his kindness and generosity to the poor and the radical policies he adapted towards the minorities, it is most probable that his murder was orchestrated by powerful and influential people.

¹⁸⁸ Nuwayrī, 1423/2002, Vol. 28, p. 199.

¹⁸⁹ Hodgson, 1962, p. 20.

¹⁹⁰ Izzeddin, 1993, p. 85.

¹⁹¹ Maqrīzī, 2002, Vol. 4, p. 77.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 77.

3.5 Ideological Origins of the Druze

After the establishment of the Fatimid state by ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī, and his policy of making a distinction between the concepts of the Mahdī and the Qā’im, the expectation of the reappearance of the Qā’im in the final cycle did not fade away. For reasons that have been explained above, during the time of al-Ḥākim these ideas came to the fore again and presented themselves in the form of the Druze movement. Although this movement did not aim to separate from the Fatimids, the change of policies towards the Druze by al-Ḥākim’s successor, al-Zāhir severed them from the Fatimids, and the line of the Imāms was interrupted and reformulated later. Their belief regarding the position of al-Ḥākim was no different from that regarding other Imāms before him.¹⁹³ Al-Ḥākim who was the “Divine manifestation” on earth as had been all the previous Imāms, now occupied the position of the transcendent, and the position of the Imām was occupied by Ḥamza himself. This is the reason why the Druze are accused of believing in the divinity of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, something that they deny. Al-Maqrīzī writes that at the time when Darazī made his teachings public, a group of fifty men entered the Chief Judge’s office in Cairo and handed him a letter starting with “*bi-ism-i al-Ḥākim al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*”.¹⁹⁴ Although these statements seemed radical to the non-Ismaili population at that time, for many ordinary Ismaili believers it was not so radical, particularly when compared with what was reported to have happened during the reappearance of al-Mahdī in Raqqāda. It is reported that then there were people who were asking why Mahdī was walking on the earth and not ascending to the Heavens.¹⁹⁵ According to the account in *Tajārīb al-umam* on the occasion of the Qarmaṭī Declaration of the Qiyāma, Abū Ṭāhir introduced the Qā’im as the “*Rabb*”.¹⁹⁶ In the Nizārī literature, we also come across a similar belief, that the Imām is the manifestation of God on earth and his name is God’s Grand Name (*ism-i a‘zam*).¹⁹⁷

The Ismaili *da‘wa* gained significant support during al-Ḥākim’s reign when he founded the famous Dār al-Ḥikma or Dār al-‘ilm where intellectual sessions (*majālis*) were held and he attended them in person for some time. It was probably in these *majālis* where many Ismaili *dā‘īs* such as Ḥamza and Nashtakīn met the Caliph that their revolutionary ideas could have been communicated. It is possible that the Dār al-Ḥikma, which was open to everybody and was not controlled by the established Fatimid *dā‘īs*, became a hub for attracting different

¹⁹³ M. Hodgson, 1962, p. 7.

¹⁹⁴ *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*, 1973, Vol. 2, p. 118.

¹⁹⁵ Halm, 1996, pp. 247-248

¹⁹⁶ Ibn Muskawayh, vol. 2, p. 57.

¹⁹⁷ Tūsī, 1999, p. 36.

Ismaili *dā'īs* who were outside the establishment, particularly from the Eastern regions. It is worth mentioning that the Qarmaṭī state after its defeat by Abbasid forces in 365/976 lost its appeal for most ordinary people in those regions. Ḥamza accuses them of following the Abbasids after the death of Abū Ṭāhir, which demonstrates that there was a degree of dissatisfaction among certain groups within the Ismaili *da'wa* and the Qarmaṭī state in the later periods.¹⁹⁸ For this reason, the Fatimids probably presented the only reliable alternative for fulfilling the long-awaited expectations among the dissident Ismailis. These new *dā'īs* who were coming from less affluent social classes compared to the established Fatimid *dā'īs*, as the names of the Druze leaders suggest, imported the popular and revolutionary aspects of the Ismaili faith such as equality and social or legal reforms into the intellectual and political circles of Cairo. The evidence for this argument is a passage in one of Ḥamza's writings called *Sīrat al-mustaqīma*, which is part of the Druze Canon. In this *risāla* Ḥamza states that all the Ismailis in Khurāsān are called Qarmaṭī and the leaders of the Qarāmiṭa, like Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī and Abū Ṭāhir, were the "servants" (*'abd*) of "Mawlānā". He provides a detailed account of the story behind the Qarāmiṭa's name. This account not only explains much about the unknown aspects of the Qarmaṭī society, but also it sheds light on different aspects of the Druze ideological origins. Ḥamza speaks of a person called Ṣarṣar who travelled to Hajar where he was appointed as a *dā'ī* by a certain Shaṭnīl,¹⁹⁹ whom he calls the Imām in that city. "He went back to al-Aḥsā' and took the allegiance of many people, and called [people] to the Unity of Mawlānā - *jalla dhikruhu* - and His worship, and [also] acknowledgement of Shaṭnīl and his Imāma and rejecting Iblīs and his companions. He told them 'when you enter Hajar and are among its people, colour your faces black and your noses red (*qarmaṭū ānāfakum*). There is a man in this town who is called Ḥārith b. Tarmāḥ al-Iṣfahānī who has many companions. All of them oppose Mawlānā al-Bārr al-'Allām and deny the superiority of the Imām. Do not discuss any matter of knowledge with his people but with those who are with you in the presence of Shaṭnīl al-Ḥākim.' They consented to all that the *dā'ī* Ṣarṣar asked them to do, such as colouring their face black (*al-'abasa*) and their nose red (*al-qurmaṭa*). For this reason, they have been called Qarāmiṭa up to this very time, and this name became famous in the Persian lands and Khurāsān. When they identify a man who [believes] in the Unity of God

¹⁹⁸ *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*, 1986, Vol. 1, p. 116.

¹⁹⁹ The origin of this name is not known. We do not see any record of this person in any other source, contrary to all other names that are mentioned in this epistle by Ḥamza. There is a strong possibility that Shaṭnīl (شطنيل) could be a miss-reading of Sanbar (سنبر) who was a prominent figure in the Qarmaṭī state in Hajar.

(*tawhid*) they call him a “*Qarmaṭī*”. They call the Ismaili religion al-Qarāmiṭa for this reason. Abū Ṭāhir and Abū Saʿīd and others from the Qarāmiṭa were the *dāʿīs* of Mawlānā... They implemented the *kashf* of something that no *dāʿī* could fulfil. Mawlānā the Exalted would never facilitate the fulfilment of the *kashf* in their hands if He knew that afterwards they would oppose obedience to Him and commit error.”²⁰⁰

Although the above passage is part of the *risāla* in which Ḥamza tries to explain different periods or cycles in the Druze understanding of creation and prophethood, the clear references to the Qarmaṭī personalities and cities show that he uses the Qarmaṭī era as a symbol of his cyclical periodization. The passage quoted explains different aspects of Druze ideas and their genealogy which can be summarized by two points.

Firstly, the above account shows that Ḥamza did not differentiate between his ideas, which were later incorporated in the Druze sacred texts, and those known as Qarmaṭī in the Eastern regions and Khurāsān. That is why he considers Abū Saʿīd and Abū Ṭāhir to be servants of Mawlānā. He also refers to the Qiyāma event that took place in Bahrain during Abū Ṭāhir’s reign as *kashf*, which to him had divine acknowledgement, since nobody else can do such a thing without divine support and acknowledgement. Therefore, what the Druze movement was propagating could be interpreted as the continuation of what the Ismaili *daʿwa* had been advocating before, during the Qarmaṭī era in the city of al-Aḥsāʾ.

Secondly, it shows that Ḥamza had been affiliated to this branch of the Ismaili *daʿwa*. The Fatimids had been trying to disassociate themselves from the Qarāmiṭa and keep a distance from their extreme religious and political ideas. However, the acknowledgement of the Qarmaṭī leaders by Ḥamza suggests that this disconnection was only on the part of the leadership of the Ismaili *daʿwa*, and this dichotomy did not exist among the ordinary believers. The fact that there was already a strong support for the Druze movement in Shām and Wādī al-Taym before the public initiation of the Druze *daʿwa* proves that the *daʿwa* was not something new.²⁰¹ Therefore referring to these communities as the Druze before 408/1017 does not seem logical, since the movement became known by the name of “al-Darazī”, one of its leaders after his death by their enemies.

²⁰⁰ *Rasāʾil al-ḥikma*, Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 114-116.

²⁰¹ Hodgson, 1962, p. 6.

3.6 Druze Doctrinal Reforms

The Druze theology is principally based on classical Ismaili thought. However, apart from their belief in the Unity of God (*tawḥīd*), all aspects of their faith differ from Fatimid Ismaili beliefs. God is beyond any description and quality and so cannot be conceived by the human imagination, but He has different manifestations in the form of the Ismaili Imāms. There are seventy cycles of divine manifestations, which start with ‘Alī al-A‘lā. The final cycle starts with “al-Bārr” and ends with al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh.²⁰² Similar ideas, particularly the idea of the manifestation of God on earth in the form of the Imāms are repeated in certain texts of the Nizārī Ismailis during the Alamūt period.²⁰³

The core belief of the Druze rests on the concepts of the Qā’im and the Qiyāma as an established Ismaili belief. However, in the early stages of the Druze movement, al-Ḥākim was considered to be the Qā’im because he attempted to reform all religious traditions and unify them all under a single banner. On the disappearance of al-Ḥākim leaving the task of the abrogation of all Sharī‘as unfulfilled, gradually Ḥamza b. ‘Alī came to occupy the position of the Qā’im. During the time of al-Ḥākim, Ḥamza was considered to be the Imām only, but when he went into concealment and the “*miḥna*” era started, gradually the status of Ḥamza was changed into that of the Qā’im. This is evident in the letter of Bahā’ al-Dīn who took over the leadership of the Druze after Ḥamza in which he “foresaw the advent of the expected Qā’im al-Hādī”, referring to Ḥamza.²⁰⁴

This elevation of the position of Ḥamza looks more confusing when the Druze canon confirms that the Sharī‘a of Islam and indeed those of all previous religions have been abrogated by al-Ḥākim.²⁰⁵ If al-Ḥākim has already abrogated the Sharī‘a, then what would be the function of

²⁰² Izzeddin, 1993, p. 112.

²⁰³ *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, 1933, p. 8.

²⁰⁴ Abu Izzeddin, 1993, p. 106.

²⁰⁵ *Rasā’il, Bada’ al-Tawḥīd*, 1986, p. 65.

Ḥamza as the second Qā'im after his reappearance? This is something that the *Rasā'il* do not address.²⁰⁶

There are number of references to the abrogation of the Sharī'a in the Druze *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*. In one of them, it attributes a statement to al-Mu'izz which says that he stood at the cycle of Zāhir and Bāṭin which is the seventh and the final Week (*usbū'*), and therefore there will be no Sharī'a after him. However, he leaves the decision to the "owner" (*ṣāhib*) of the cycle who is, accordingly, al-Ḥākim.²⁰⁷ On another occasion, in the epistle of *Risāla fihā ḥaqā'iq* there is an explanation of how symbolically al-Ḥākim abrogated the Sharī'a. This refers to an occasion when al-Ḥākim walked through different parts of Cairo and tried to interpret his actions to support his idea. Al-Ḥamza writes "Our Mawlānā –Peace Be Upon Us by Him- revealed himself in the world (*nāsūt*) as human, and his descending from the ass (*ḥimār*) on to the earth and then riding to the gate of the Mosque is a reason for change of the Sharī'a, a proof of "Tawḥīd" and the revealing of the spiritual Sharī'a in the hands of Ḥamza b. 'Alī."²⁰⁸ It is also argued that al-Ḥākim abrogated the Islamic Sharī'a in exactly the same way that Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh abrogated the religions before Islam. According to the *Rasā'il*, "When Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh appeared as the *nāṭiq*, he abrogated all the religions and blocked all the paths. He said: Whoever does not leave his ancestor's religion will be killed and is called infidel. And whoever abandons what he used to believe, the name of Islam applies to him."²⁰⁹ Accordingly, the Sharī'a of Islam was ended by al-Ḥākim completely. Having said that, this is only seen in the Druze sacred text, but no explicit reference to such idea being promulgated by al-Ḥākim has been reported.

In contrast to the Nizārī version of the Qiyāma which has many ambiguities, the Druze model of the Qiyāma is very straightforward when it comes to the abrogation of the Sharī'a. In the *Rasā'il*, Ḥamza dedicates an entire epistle called *Naqḍ al-khafī* to the Pillars of Islam and explicitly states that he abolished them completely (in the *zāhir* as well as their *ta'wīl*). He attributes the origin of this abolishing to one of al-Ḥākim's edicts (*sijills*) and his practices

²⁰⁶ In the introduction of the *Rasā'il*, it is argued that Ḥamza will reappear before al-Ḥākim at the end of the world (*ākhir al-zamān*), to prepare the way for al-Ḥākim. However, this not only contradicts the original belief, but also there is no mention of this in the *Rasā'il*. See *Rasā'il*, Vol. 1, 1986, p. 17. Also see Abu Izzeddin, 1993, p. 106.

²⁰⁷ MS DR, f. 62.

²⁰⁸ *Rasā'il*, Vol. 1, 1986, p. 105.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

during his life. He refers to the fact that after 407/1016 al-Ḥākim did not participate in the Friday prayers or any other religious feast.²¹⁰ He also refers to al-Ḥākim's edict in which he abolished the tradition of giving alms (*ṣadaqa*), tithe (*'ushr*), fifth (*khums*) and other forms of *zakāt*. However, he could not just abolish the Pillars or other traditions without introducing something which would fill their place and constitute the identity of the new community. Therefore, he substitutes new pillars for them and writes:

"[You] realize that Mawlānā –Exalted be his mention- has exempted you from seven obligatory pillars, and imposed on you seven Unitarian characteristics. The first and the greatest of them is Truthfulness (*ṣidq al-lisān*); the second is Protecting the Brethren (*ḥifẓ al-ikhwān*); the third is Abandoning your past belief and Worshipping the non-existing and falsehood (*'ibādat al-'adam wa al-buhtān*); the fourth is Getting a distance from the Satans and rebellion (*barā'a min al-abālisa wa al-tughyān*); the fifth is [believing] in the Unity of Mawlānā – Exalted be his mention- in all times and eras (*al-tawḥīd li-mawlānā*); the sixth is Contentment with His actions as it is (*riḍā bi-fi'lihī kayfa mā kān*) and the seventh is Submission to His order in secret and publicly (*taslīm li-amrihī fi al-sirr wa al-ḥadthān*).²¹¹

These new pillars are very different from the abolished ones from different aspects. The new pillars are more concerned with aspects of individual ethics rather than communal and financial matters as we see in the previous pillars of *jihād*, *ḥajj* and *zakāt* in the Islamic model. There is only one principle in this set of pillars which strengthens the community: Protecting the Brethren! However, this is not comparable to any principle in the Islamic model as this is quite general and does not contain any ritual elements. This is similar to the Nizārī model. Although the Nizārīs did not introduce a new set of pillars, the actual outcome of the Qiyāma era was the enhancing the individual aspects of faith such as the spiritual quest and living an ascetic and ethical life. This spiritual and mystical approach to religion is shared by both the Ismailis and the Sufis. From this point of view, the Druze did not introduce anything new theoretically. The concepts of *riḍā*²¹² and *taslīm* which are part of the Druze pillars are also found in Islamic mysticism or Sufism. The Ismailis and the Sufis both incorporated mystical concepts found in the pre-Islamic religions of their local regions into their belief systems. Nevertheless, both traditions tried to stay loyal to the general principles of the Islamic Sharī'a

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

²¹¹ *Rasā'il*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

²¹² Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, one of the most famous Sufis close to the Druze movement at the time, writes that "*riḍā*" is to be content with your Mawlā instead of whatever is beyond Him". *Ṣad Maydān*, 1388/2009, p. 11.

and its obligations. By declaring the new era of the Qiyāma, the Druze severed their connection with the Sharī'a, but remained within the spiritual domain of Islamic mysticism. This is to some extent the same as the Nizārī experience of the Qiyāma era in its initial stages. However, through the re-implementation of the *satr* era by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, the Nizārīs enhanced their commitment to the Sharī'a. This point is the fundamental factor that distinguishes the experience of the Qiyāma era in these two Ismaili traditions from each other. Both traditions used the same concepts and ideas to formulate their new doctrines and *da'wa*, but the Druze not only disconnected themselves from the Fatimids as their social and ideological link to past, but also cut their connection to the larger Islamic world. The Declaration of the Qiyāma in Alamūt had similar impact on the Nizārīs at the beginning. They were disconnected from classical Ismaili thought and wider Islamic society. However, they still had to deal with the outside world because they were still in charge of a political system which ruled different regions and territories, and in order to be able to run their affairs effectively they had to deal with the outside world. This could have given them a sufficient incentive to modify the new *da'wa* (*da'wat-ijadida*) in a way that would fit it into the stretched limits of Islam.

4. The Proclamation of the Qiyāma in Alamūt



4.1 Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ and the First Trumpet Blast

The struggles of the Nizārīs in bringing success for the new *da'wa* and the establishment of an independent state fits well within the pattern followed in the early stages of the Fatimid and the Qarmaṭī *da'wa*. The Proclamation of the Qiyāma few decades after the establishment of the Nizārī state in Alamūt was in fact the celebration of these struggles and a reward for the faithful. The disconnection with the Fatimid Caliphs in Egypt, and inviting people to an absent Imām created a situation similar to that of the early Ismaili *da'wa*, before the advent of the Mahdī. For this reason, Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ's role is important in preparing the ground for the Qiyāma era. In the literature produced on the Qiyāma in Alamūt, such as the *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, he is called the “initiator of the first Trumpet Blast” (*nāfikh-i šūr-i awwal*).²¹³ Badakhchani writes that “it is reasonable to suppose that Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ's insistence on a living Imām always present physically in the world inspired among the Nizārī Ismailis much expectation of the hidden Imām's imminent appearance as the Qā'im.”²¹⁴ Although the doctrine of Ta'līm introduced by him is not directly related to the doctrine of the Qiyāma, his call or *da'wa* known as the *da'wat-i jadīda* represented the Nizārī *da'wa* as a new Ismaili movement, which became an important stage in preparing the conditions for the Qiyāma era initiated by Ḥasan II (Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām).

²¹³ *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, 2005, p. 159.

²¹⁴ Badakhchani, 2017, p. 19.

As Ṭūsī writes in *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*: “When the time arrives for the final period of the legislative religion (*dawr-i sharīʿat*) to connect with the beginning of the epoch of the Resurrection (*zamān-i qiyāmat*), a trembling will fill all earth and heaven. All the arcane mysteries, signs, testimonies and allusions shall be exposed, and the veil of the invisible realm be rent asunder. From the orient of hope (*mashriq-i intizār*), the sun of the Divine Reality (*āftāb-i haqīqat*) dawned with the good news that between the first and the second blasts of the trumpet, there will be a period of forty years: The first blast on the trumpet was the mission of Sayyidnā [Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ] - may God sanctify his soul - and the second blast on the trumpet was the mission of the Resurrector [Imām Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām] - may salutations ensue upon the mention of him.”²¹⁵

This interpretation of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ’s mission and its relationship to the Qiyāma era is explained in different terms in *Haft-bāb* written by Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd.²¹⁶ He calls Sayyidnā the Grand Proof (*ḥujjat-i akbar*) of the Qā’im-i Qiyāmat, and the Jesus of the Qiyāma period.²¹⁷ This is necessary to examine Ḥasan’s mission or *da‘wat* and find out how he propagated his doctrine of Ta’līm, and in what way he initiated the Qiyāma era for the Nizārīs.

According to the famous story in Ḥasan’s “auto-biography” called *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ came from a Twelver Shī’a family. In his early education, he went to school with ‘Umar Khayyām and Niẓām al-Mulk the Seljuk vizier in Nīshābūr. However, this story has been refuted by many scholars for different reasons; the most important of which is their age difference.²¹⁸ The actual text of the *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidnā*²¹⁹ does not reach our time, but most of its information was preserved in the works of Persian historians such as Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. According to these sources, his father, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥumyārī who was originally from Yemen, immigrated from Kūfa to Qum, where Ḥasan was born.²²⁰ He grew up as an Ithnā‘asharī Shī’a,

²¹⁵ *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*, 2005, para. 482.

²¹⁶ The title refers to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, as Sayyidnā is the honorary title given to him by the Nizārīs. However, this attribution is not accurate. The author was in fact Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd Ṣalāḥ-i Munshī who had a high position in Alamūt, and lived surely till 639/1241, when he wrote his introduction to his famous work, *Dīwān-i qā’imiyāt*.

²¹⁷ *Haft-bāb*, 1935, p. 21.

²¹⁸ Daftary, 2007, p. 312.

²¹⁹ Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy*, Vol. 3, pp. 187-216.

²²⁰ Daftary sets his birth in mid 440s / 1050s, which seems highly debatable. According to this date, he was in his early twenties when he was appointed as the chief *dā’ī* by Ibn ‘Aṭṭāsh in 460s/1070s, which is highly unlikely. There is no reason for people like E. G. Brown and M. A. Furūghī to refute the

but after encountering an Ismaili named Amīra Ḍarrāb, he converted to Ismailism. Amīra Ḍarrāb introduced him to someone in a higher hierarchical position called Mu'min, and through this Mu'min, Ḥasan was guided to 'Abd al-Malik 'Aṭṭāsh, the chief *dā'ī* of Iraq. Ḥasan who was probably working at this time in the administration of Abū Muslim al-Rāzī, the governor of Ray met 'Aṭṭāsh who was visiting Ray in 464/1071, and was instructed to go to Fatimid Cairo.²²¹ He began his journey to Egypt in 469/1076 and after following almost the same route as Nāṣir-i Khusraw arrived at Cairo in 471/1078. At this time a dispute had already occurred at the Fatimid court over the succession to the Imām Caliph al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh. The chief *dā'ī* and the head of the army was Badr al-Jamālī who is said to have convinced al-Mustanṣir to revoke his earlier designation of Nizār, his elder son as the heir-apparent, and appoint his younger son Abū al-Qāsim (al-Musta'īlī), who was Badr al-Jamālī's son-in-law instead.²²²

Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ supported Nizār as the rightful Imām and caliph. This was the reason that Badr al-Jamālī tried to send him into some kind of exile in Roman lands, but on his way the sea turned stormy and the ship did not arrive at its destination. Finally, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ decided to come back to Persia, without being able to meet al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, though he indirectly got his support and the instructions for his mission.²²³

Upon the return of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ to Persia from Egypt in 473/1081, he lived in secret for some time and made a living through teaching in villages surrounding Alamūt, and at the same time, he dispatched missionaries to different areas in Iran and propagated Nizārī Ismailism. At this time, the castle of Alamūt was controlled by a person called Mahdī 'Alawī on behalf of the Seljuk Sultāns. After winning the support of few its inhabitants, Ḥasan managed to enter the castle and eventually bought it for three thousands *dīnārs*, which he

information of *Sargudhasht* because of the age difference between Nizām al-Mulk, Khayyām and Sayyidnā, since going to the same school together does not mean that they were in the same age. If we believe the remarks of Nizām al-Mulk in his *Waṣāyā*, which fits with the information in the *Sargudhasht*, where he states that "these two ['Umar Khayyām and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ] were newly matured boys (*du naw risīdah*) and because of their talent and sound comprehension could accompany me in the sessions", then Ḥasan and Khayyām should have been younger than Nizām al-Mulk. Given that Ḥasan had worked in the Seljuk administration for some time, his active involvement with the *dā'wa* came after this period, probably shortly after the succession of Malikshāh (r. 465/1072-485/1092). Accordingly, Ḥasan's birth should have occurred towards the end of the 420s/1030s.

²²¹ See in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, Vol. 4 under Ibn 'Aṭṭāsh.

²²² Juwaynī, 1912-1937, Vol. 3, p. 190.

²²³ Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, 1987, p. 137.

asked Ra'īs Muẓaffar of Gird Kūh, who had already converted to the Nizārī faith to pay to Mahdī 'Alawī.

It did not take long for the Seljuk Sulṭān to be informed of Ḥasan's activities and armies were dispatched to Alamūt. Rashīd al-Dīn tells us that even before the seizure of Alamūt, Niẓām al-Mulk was sending his local agents to capture Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ. It is said that when Ḥasan was planning to go to Daylamān, he tried to avoid Ray on his way, as Niẓām al-Mulk had ordered Abū Muslim Rāzī to arrest him.²²⁴ This suggests that we cannot discredit entirely the story of "three schoolmates" and the animosity between Ḥasan and Niẓām al-Mulk, as in this stage Ḥasan had not yet had much success, and it is probable that he was not even known to be leading the Ismaili *da'wa* in Irān. It is possible that Ḥasan might have been working for the Seljuk vizier before travelling to Egypt, and at the same time campaigning for the Ismailis, and therefore he had to escape after his activities were uncovered.

Two things are certain about Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ. Firstly, all the information about him confirms that he was highly ambitious. Even in Egypt he was treated as a rival by Badr al-Jamālī. According to his *Sargudhasht*, Badr wanted to get rid of Ḥasan by sending him to the prison of Dimyāṭ.²²⁵ This suggests that he wanted to keep Ḥasan far from the Fatimid court. During the three years of his stay in Egypt, for some reason, he did not succeed in meeting al-Mustanṣir, though he had been sent to Cairo the chief *dā'ī* of Iraq and Daylamān, 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Aṭṭāsh. The fact is that upon Ḥasan's arrival to Cairo, the dispute over the succession to al-Mustanṣir had already started. Ḥasan was aware of Badr al-Jamālī's ambitions to make his son-in-law the next caliph by convincing al-Mustanṣir to revoke his initial appointment of Nizār, but he could not accept this decision since it was principally against Ismaili beliefs. It did not take long for Badr al-Jamālī to find out how Ḥasan could be a serious obstacle for his ambitions in securing the succession of al-Musta'li as the next Caliph.

4.2 The Doctrine of Ta'lim

Nothing has been said about why Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ developed the new doctrine of Ta'lim (instruction) for propagating the Ismaili *da'wa*. He did not change anything of the principles

²²⁴ Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, 1960, p. 636.

²²⁵ *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, 1987, p. 137.

of the Ismaili faith, but it seems that he tried to reintroduce them. He planned his mission on two levels; one level was his support of the succession of Nizār to al-Mustaṣṣir Bi'llāh which was directed towards the existing Ismaili community in Persia. The second level was his doctrine of Ta'lim which seems to have been directed towards non-Ismaili communities such as the Shī'īs and the Sufis. This will be further explained when the principles of Ta'lim are explained. From this point of view, the nature of his *da'wa* was similar to the pre-Fatimid Ismaili *da'wa*, when the Imām was in hiding and the Ismailis expected his reappearance as the Mahdi.

Although the doctrine of Ta'lim was designed from the beginning to prove the Ismaili fundamentals, the departure point of this doctrine does not fit within the classical discourse of Ismaili thought in the earlier periods. The general trend of Ismaili thought before was based on neo-Platonic metaphysics and the relationship between *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl*, *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. Ḥasan's doctrine stressed something completely different. It was an argument to prove the necessity of knowledge of God and the best method of attaining this knowledge. He was simply emphasizing the point that the mankind needs to know God and for doing so, human beings cannot rely only on their own reasoning. Although it was a way of proving the verity of the Ismaili Imāma, he approached the issue from a different angle. This was in a way in contrast to the previous Ismaili discourse in which great emphasis was put on the importance of the intellect (*khirad*). The concept of *khirad* or *'aql* is the key concept for understanding the writings of Ismaili scholars such as Nāṣir-i Khusraw. Ḥasan was playing down the role of reasoning for the knowledge of God, and tried instead to highlight the role of the rightful Imām.

4.2.A The Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn

Unfortunately, the actual work of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ containing the doctrine of Ta'lim is lost. A short account of the doctrine is found in *al-Milal wa al-niḥal* by 'Abd al-Karīm Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) under the title of *al-Fuṣūl al-arba'a*.²²⁶ In certain histories such as the *Zubdat al-*

²²⁶ *Al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, 1971, pp. 203-207.

tawārīkh of Kāshānī there are also quotations from the materials related to this doctrine where discussions between Ḥasan's successors and their opponents are recorded.²²⁷

The most comprehensive account of the Ta'lim doctrine was found in an unpublished manuscript which comprises different texts dating from the Alamūt and post-Alamūt periods. In one of these texts titled "*Nāmah bi 'ulamā-yi Qazwīn*" (Letter to the scholars of Qazwīn)²²⁸, the four principles (*uṣūl*) of the doctrine are explained.

There were three different copies of this letter available to me for this research. The oldest copy referred to here as MS T is part of a large manuscript in Tehran University containing different materials related to Islamic mysticism as well as the works of Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Ismaili theology, such as *Sayr wa sulūk* and *Rawḍa-yi taslīm*. The manuscript is copied in the hand of a certain Muḥammad Shafī b. Khwāja Muḥammad who completed it in Shawwāl 1180/March 1767.²²⁹ We are not sure if the copyist was an Ismaili himself, or if he only had access to some Ismaili sources. There are number of texts within this manuscript which are rare and could only have been derived from Ismaili sources. However, some of these materials are wrongly attributed to Ṭūsī. But the language, themes and the writing styles in these texts suggest that they are mostly the production of the Alamūt period.

The other copy is also found within a large miscellaneous manuscript. It is part of a private collection in the Ismaili community of Mashhad, Iran, and I was able to acquire a copy some years ago. This copy was transcribed by Allāhbakhsh b. Mīr Ḥusayn in 1271/1854 in Khushk, a village near Qā'in. We refer to this copy here as MS P1. The third and the final copy of the letter is part of a miscellaneous manuscript known as MS 32 in the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. This manuscript is not dated, but based on the handwriting, paper and our information of the copyist it belongs to the early twentieth century and most probably was copied from the same source as the second copy (MS P1), since the text of the letter, as well as other materials within both manuscripts, resemble each other.

There is some extra information at the beginning of the copy in MS T that we cannot find in the other two copies. The letter in this manuscript is attributed to Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, which is clearly a mistake. The whole letter is written in order to defend the position of the Nizārīs according to the doctrine of Ta'lim in the same format that Shahrastānī recorded it in

²²⁷ *Zubda*, 1987, pp. 163-166.

²²⁸ MS P1.

²²⁹ MS 8211 in the Library of Tehran University, referred to here as MS T.

his *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*. There are other texts in this collection which are attributed to Ṭūsī, such as the letter of Ḥasan II to Kiyā-Shāh. The attribution of both letters to Ṭūsī is wrong as the ideas presented in these texts do not belong to him. The language of these letters is also clearly different from that of Ṭūsī.²³⁰

As the title suggests, the letter was sent to the Sunnī scholars of Qazwīn. The exact date of the letter is not clear. However, the context and the language prove that it was written during the early part of the Alamūt period. By the establishment of the Nizārī state in 483/1090, different groups of Sunnī scholars were sent to Alamūt to debate religious issues. The discussions between the Nizārīs and their opponents from the early stages are quoted in sources such as *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*²³¹ and *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*,²³² which have clear similarities in language and rhetoric with the text of this letter that is a proof of its authenticity. It is quite possible that this letter was written and sent to Qazwīn by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself, considering the extra information about the author in our main copy. Due to the importance of the letter and its information, I have edited the Persian text based on the above copies and placed it in the appendix (No 1), and a summary containing key points is included here.

4.2.B Summary of the Letter

We will go through the important points in the letter and the way Ḥasan has planned the layout of his argument here. In the first paragraphs, there is an account of his travels to Gīlān and the Ḥijāz before his conversion to Ismaili faith, which is unique and provides extra information on his life, something that we cannot find in what remains of his *Sargudhasht*. In this letter, similar to the account in the *Sargudhasht*, there is a reference to his severe illness before converting to Ismailism. His reference to a period of fifteen years alludes to the period between joining the Ismaili *da‘wa* around 469/1076 and the seizing of Alamūt in 483/1090. However, the point that he “has passed through the Ḥijāz desert thirteen times” is something that is not found in other sources. Only one of the copies has this statement.

²³⁰ These reasons are explained more where the latter is discussed.

²³¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p.129.

²³² Kāshānī, 1987, pp. 163-166.

Ḥasan begins his letter by stressing that there are both similarities and differences between the Nizārīs and “other Muslim groups” (*ṭawāʾif-i mukhtalifa*). First he explains the similarities by saying: “We are saying that there is a God, and all different groups acknowledge that. And we are saying that He is one, and there is agreement between all on this too. We are saying that we need to know this single God and we both agree on this as well. And [we need to] know Him through intellect and observation (*ʿaql wa naẓar*), since without intellect you even cannot know a tiny seed.”²³³

After describing the similarities, he comes to the differences. He states that “knowing God through intellect and observation requires ‘instruction’ (*taʿlīm*) based on God’s own words, through His deputy”.²³⁴ He quotes a Qur’anic verse confirming the idea that God appoints His deputy on earth to “teach” people the “Book”. He argues that “if you do not accept the necessity of the instruction of God’s deputy, and you believe that the intellect and observation are enough for knowing God, then we are not blind too. We also can think, and observe the world, and find out that there is a God. Therefore, you cannot accuse us of being non-believers (*khudā-nashnās*). If you are saying that you need to know God through His words, then this is what we are saying.”²³⁵

Then he tries to explain why one needs a divine instructor for the purpose of knowing God. He gives an account of all the different opposing ideas among the different schools of Islamic theology and their conflicting ideas about God. He says that “some believe God is visible and some believe he is not; some say he is in Heaven and some say he is on earth....” Accordingly, he concludes that the existence of a “ruler” (*ḥākim*) who is God’s deputy on earth is inevitable. And finally, he establishes that there is nobody in the whole world to claim such thing except the Ismailis. Therefore, the Ismailis are the true “knowers of God” (*khudā-shinās*) and “worshippers of God” (*khudā-parast*), and the Ismaili Imām is the rightful “ruler” who delivers the “words” of God on behalf of His messenger in each period of time.²³⁶

In his doctrine Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ represented the standard Shīʿī concept of Imāma by means of a more organized and theoretical method. Generally all Shīʿas believe that the Imāms are the

²³³ MS P1, p. 128.

²³⁴ Ibid., pp. 128-129.

²³⁵ Ibid., pp. 131-132.

²³⁶ MS P1, p. 136.

sole authority for the interpretation of the Revelation. However, the language and the concepts utilized here are not completely Shīʿī. Ḥasan founded his argument on a mystical concept which is “knowing God”, (*maʿrifat Allāh*). The Sufis believe that God created humans because He wanted them to know Him. This is based on a “divine Tradition” or *ḥadīth-i qudsī*²³⁷ which the Persian Sufis generally quote in their writings: “I was a hidden treasure, and I wanted to be known. I created the people in order to be known”.²³⁸ This shows that Ḥasan tried to be creative and adjust Ismaili discourses to the needs of his own time and society in order to ensure the success of his *daʿwa*. This could be a reason for Ḥasan’s ambition for independence, which enabled him to innovate a doctrine with the purpose of propagating Ismaili teachings, and with the success of his doctrine he would be able to establish an independent political state far from Fatimid Cairo. Probably, the dispute over the succession of al-Mustanʿir Bi’llāh and his support for Nizār was in a way the final factor that fitted well within Ḥasan’s ambition.

4.3 The Relationship between the Doctrines of Taʿlīm and Qiyāma

As mentioned before, the mission (*daʿwat*) of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ was regarded as the opening of the Qiyāma era, and Ḥasan was considered to be the “the initiator of the first trumpet blast” or “*nāfikh-i ṣūr-i awwal*”. However, the conceptual link between the two doctrines needs to be explained in order to see how they correspond together. When we go through the four principles of the doctrine of Taʿlīm, we do not come across any idea concerning the Qiyāma or the Qāʾim. It is a four-stage argument to prove that God needs to be known by His own words through His sole authorized instructor, and since the Ismaili Imām is the only one claiming that he is the “rightful instructor” (*muʿallim-i ṣādiq*).

On the other hand, what the doctrine of the Qiyāma was suggesting was that by the emergence of the Qāʾim, the age of the Sharīʿa had ended and the new era of Resurrection (Qiyāma) had begun. Examining them carefully, we cannot find much connection between these two doctrines. However, on a broader sense, we can argue that Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ’s mission was pivotal in preparing the ground for the declaration of the Qiyāma half a century later. On

²³⁷ The Sufis call a “*ḥadīth qudsī*” a *ḥadīth* which is considered words of God and narrated by the Prophet. However it is not part of the Qurʾān.

²³⁸ Rūmī, *Fīh mā fīh*, 1990, p. 80: كُنْتُ كَنْزاً مَخْفِئاً فَاحْبَبْتُ أَنْ أَعْرِفَ فَخَلَقْتُ الْخَلْقَ لِكَيْ أَعْرِفَ

general level too, we can see some connection: the knowledge of God that is stressed in the doctrine of Ta'lim is revealed in a way the unveiled Truth in the Qiyāma was revealed, when Unity with God became achievable. Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām writes in a passage on the Qiyāma: "We know that it is the day of the Qiyāma; whoever reached God, [then] he acquired the eternal reward, and whoever did not, he fell [detached] for ever."²³⁹ As this clearly suggests, the Qiyāma was intended to guide the Nizārīs a step further than "knowing God" in the Ta'lim doctrine did in order to attain "reaching God" in the Qiyāma doctrine.

Ḥasan's doctrine laid the ground in another way for the doctrine of the Qiyāma, as he stressed again the authoritative role of the Imām in his doctrine. The absolute obedience to the Imām which is much emphasized in 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's writings is largely the outcome of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ's policies and instructions. For example, in one text attributed to 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām addressing the Ismailis we read: "And obey the orders of your 'Truthful Instructor' and his deputy, and never step beyond [his] orders. And never initiate something based on your own judgment, and be of one heart and united in serving Mawlānā – May His Name be Glorified."²⁴⁰

The Nizārī sources of the Alamūt period mention that Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ had told the Ismailis that in the near future the Qā'im would appear. In *Haft bāb* there is a passage attributed to Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ in which he says, "When the Qā'im emerges, he will sacrifice a camel, and raise a red flag. Then he will destroy the castles, and remove the 'secrecy veil' (*parda-yi taqiyya*) of the Sharī'a."²⁴¹ Accordingly, he also stated that when the Qā'im comes, the Sharī'a will be subject to some kind of change or reform. The period of *taqiyya* ends and the new era of *kashf* will begin. The connotation of such idea is a predictable ideological reform, although it has been said that he was very strict in observing the Sharī'a.²⁴² We do not know how much of what happened after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma was predicted or expected by Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, but the function of the Qā'im in Ismaili tradition has been always understood through his role as the terminator of the era of the Sharī'a. However, whether it would be replaced by another Sharī'a or there would not be any Sharī'a was a matter of dispute,

²³⁹ می‌دانیم که روز قیامت است، هر که به خدای رسید به ثواب رسید جاودانه، و هر که بیفتاد جاودانه بیفتاد. (MS Y, p. 54)

²⁴⁰ MS Y, p. 35.

²⁴¹ Ḥasan Maḥmūd, 1933, p. 21.

²⁴² Juwaynī tells us that Ḥasan was so much pious that he even expelled someone from the Castle of Alamūt for playing the flute.

particularly between the followers of Nasaḫī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. While Nasaḫī believed that the Qiyāma era would be the same as the era of Adam without any Sharī'a, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī took a more conservative position and argued that there would be a form of Sharī'a during the Qiyāma.²⁴³ We do not know to which of these interpretations Ḥasan II inclined.

4.4 Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II), and the Proclamation of the Qiyāma

A hundred and fifty years after the establishment of the Nizārī state in Alamūt, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, known as Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, who was the third successor to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, declared the 17th of Ramaḍān 559 /8th of August 1164 as the day of Resurrection (*qiyāma*). Although Ḥasan II did not directly claim to be the Imām, his successor A'ālā Muḥammad openly claimed his father was the offspring of Nizār b. Mustanṣir Bi'llāh. This shift significantly changed the status of the head of the Nizārī state and gave him full religious authority. This authority was a necessity for the *qā'im*, who was going to announce the Qiyāma, and end the era of the Sharī'a.

In this chapter the political circumstances in which the Proclamation of the Qiyāma took place and the reason behind this event are studied. Also investigated are the ambiguous aspects of Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II) as the new Imām and Qā'im. As Cortese rightly writes, there two different readings of the Proclamation; one interpreting the event as abrogation of the outward performance of the rituals prescribed by the Islamic law, and the other interpret the act as literal replacement of the Qiyāma with all the commandments of the Sharī'a.²⁴⁴ Relying on some remaining passages of his *Fuṣūl* in different sources, mainly unpublished manuscripts, there will be an endeavour to show that the first interpretation seems more accurate, though there have been aspects in the event that suggested the literal abrogation of the Sharī'a entirely.

²⁴³ Nomoto, 2009, p. 29.

²⁴⁴ Cortese, Delia, The Ismā'īlī Resurrection of Alamūt: A Bid for Spiritual Awakening or a Statement of Political Authority, Paper at Resurrection Conference, University of Roehampton, London (1999), p. 254.

Before that, it is important to present an explanation of the reasons behind Ḥasan II's decision for embarking on the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in that particular time.

Almost all of our sources, Ismaili and non-Ismaili, are consistent about the proceedings of the Qiyāma proclamation. On 17th of Ramaḍān 559/8th of August 1164 Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II) ordered a pulpit (*minbar*) to be set up in the *muṣallā* (prayer field) below the castle of Alamūt, and with 4 flags set one on each corner of the *minbar*; one each white, red, green and yellow.²⁴⁵ The *rafiqs* of Daylam stood in the centre, the *rafiqs* of Khurāsān on the right and the *rafiqs* of Iraq (the western and central provinces of Iran) on the left opposite the *minbar*. At around noon, Ḥasan II came down from the castle in white garment and turban and ascended the pulpit (*minbar*). He stood up after a while and greeted each section of the crowd three times. Then he proceeded with the *khuṭba* (sermon). He announced that he had a message from the hidden Imām in which the Imām had appointed him as his deputy (*khalīfa*), and declared that he had graciously exempted them from the bindings (*aghlāl*) of the Sharī'a and had caused them to attain the Qiyāma. He read out a *khuṭba* in Arabic which was the compassionate message of the Imām to his followers, and it was translated for the crowd there by a certain Faqīh Muḥammad Bustī, who knew Arabic. Few lines of this *khuṭba* are quoted in the *Haft bāb* of Abū Ishāq Quhistānī:

“Arise! The Resurrection of all Resurrections is upon you. Today, God does not guide through signs and symbols. Today, He is not known through the signs, [speeches], allusions, and physical forms of worship.... Today the deeds, the speeches, the signs and the references reached their final end.”²⁴⁶

Then he descended the pulpit and performed two *rak'as* of the *īd* prayer (*namāz-i īd*). Everybody broke the fast after that and participated in the feast which was called “the Feast of the Qiyāma” (*īd al-qiyaam*).²⁴⁷

Few months later on 28th of Dhu al-Qa'da 559/ 17th of October 1164, a similar ceremony was organized in the castle of Mu'min-Ābād of Bīrjand in Quhistān area. In a letter sent to Ra'īs Muẓaffar, the head of the Nizārīs of Quhistān, Ḥasan II stated that in the same way had

²⁴⁵ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 226.

²⁴⁶ *Haft bāb-i Abū Ishāq*, 1957 pp. 40 – 41.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

Mustanşir (the Fatimid caliph) declared himself to be the deputy of God on earth, and Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ as his deputy (*khalīfa*), “today I being Ḥasan, say that I am the deputy of God on earth and this Raʾīs Muẓaffar is my deputy who should be obeyed.”²⁴⁸ This was quite different from his statement in the Qiyāma declaration of Alamūt, where he stated he was the deputy of the Imām, not of God. Obviously, something must have happened in the recess of a few months after the Qiyāma declaration in order for his status to have changed. We do not know exactly what the circumstances were in Alamūt during which this extraordinary change happened. Probably after Ḥasan II’s declaration of the Qiyāma, this belief was so popular among all the Nizārīs such that nobody could oppose it. Doubtless, that the Nizārī community was so eager to see the Qāʾim and the fulfilment of his promises in their lifetime that even Ḥasan II could not have convinced them of the opposite.

The fact that even before Ḥasan II’s accession to power, some groups of Nizārīs were propagating the idea that he was the Imām and the awaited Qāʾim proves that he was not solely responsible for this decision as the idea had deep roots in the socio-cultural environment of this region. Not only the earlier Ismaili *daʿwa* under the name of Qarāmiṭa had propagated the same idea in the area of Daylam and Ṭabaristān, the remaining Pārsī and Mazdakī communities who had similar ideas and were still present in the region had helped in making the idea of religious revolution and equality more popular.²⁴⁹ The Qiyāma Proclamation was the ideological symbol of the awaited revolution in justice and religion, which was perceived to be achievable as a result of the Nizārīs’ political and military victories. Historically, the Mahdī firstly embarks on the mission and rises up against oppression and injustice. Revealing the *bāṭin* of religion is the second phase when the Qāʾim ends the Sharīʿa era at the beginning of the Qiyāma era. Initially, there was no distinction between the figure of the Mahdī and that of the Qāʾim. However, through the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate in North Africa, ʿAbdullāh al-Mahdī had postponed the Qāʾim’s mission to an unknown future.²⁵⁰ In the case of the Qiyāma Proclamation at Alamūt, we only come across the concept of the Qāʾim and there is no mention of the Mahdī. This shows that the distinction between the Mahdī and the Qāʾim had been generally accepted by the Ismailis in Persia at this time.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 230.

²⁴⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 149.

²⁵⁰ See Hamdānī/de Blois, 1983, p. 177.

The most important question that one could ask about the Qiyāma Proclamation of Alamūt is why Ḥasan II decided at that particular time to announce the beginning of the new era of the Qiyāma, and what made him think that he was eligible for fulfilling such a sensitive and weighty task. Shīrīn Bayānī writes that probably this revolutionary event is related to the succession of the Khwārazm-Shāhīs to the Seljuk after the destruction of the latter, because “the Ismailis who saw a powerful rival had been eliminated decided to pursue their struggle for consolidating their rule in different Iranian cities more vigorously.”²⁵¹ The elimination of the Seljuks presented a great opportunity for the Nizārīs, but there is no indication that the domination of the Khwārazm-Shāhīs would bring the Nizārīs any significant advantage.

Daftary in his *Ismailis, Their History and Doctrine* writes that this announcement of the Qiyāma was in fact a declaration of independence from the larger Muslim society and, at the same time, an admission of the failure of the Nizārī struggle to take over that society.²⁵² It is true that by the Qiyāma Proclamation the Nizārīs were declaring their ideological independence from the outside world, but it does not explain the whole reason for this event because, after all, the establishment of the Nizārī state was itself the most important declaration of independence and it had already taken place.

In conclusion, the Nizārīs could achieve enough military and political success in a short period of time through their strategies of controlling fortresses and the elimination of the leaders of their enemies. This gave them a strong sense of confidence that the long-awaited promise of the reappearance of the Qā'im was going to be fulfilled. Therefore, the Declaration of the Qiyāma was the celebration of the fulfilment of this promise. To explain this proposition, a brief review of different political and military successes of the Nizārīs after Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ follows, and then the issue of Ḥasan II's Imāma and his understanding of the Qiyāma will be discussed.

4.5 The Nizārīs' Military Success Prior to Ḥasan II's Reign

When Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ took over the castle of Alamūt through a peaceful deal, after all, according to Juwaynī he did not even have enough man power to defend and hold the fortress.

²⁵¹ Bayānī, 1367/1988, Vol. 1, p. 202.

²⁵² Daftary, 2007, p. 360.

According to Juwaynī, two years after the seizure of Alamūt there were only 60-70 men to defend the fortress. When the pressure was increased, many of them wanted to leave the fortress and go somewhere else, but Ḥasan told them that Imām Mustanşir had sent him a message to hold the fortress as there would be a fortune there. For this reason they called it *Baladat al-iqbāl*.²⁵³ In a newly found *risāla* in a manuscript from Badakhshān, which was written about the early years of the new *da'wa* in Alamūt, it states that Sayyidnā told his few followers to hold on to their positions as there will be a “*zuhūr*” (reappearance) on this castle.²⁵⁴ At the end of Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ's reign in Alamūt, the Nizārī state was able to consolidate its power in Daylam, Rūdbār and Quhistān. His successor, Buzurg Umīd was the chief of the castle of Lambasar when he was called to Alamūt to be appointed the head of the new Nizārī state. Juwaynī did not write much on his reign, but the account that he presents about the relationship between the Seljuk Sulṭān, Sanjar and the Nizārīs and his disappointment with the peaceful relationship between them is a clear indication that the Nizārīs were powerful enough to make peace with this Sulṭān at that time. In this periods, as Hodgson writes the old sense of expectancy was maintained into the second and third generation among the children of those determined insurrectionaries.²⁵⁵ This is when the Fatimids were struggling with internal fights between different factions of their armies as well as short lived reigns of Caliphs.

Buzurg Umīd died in 532/1138, but the military victories of the Nizārīs continued under Buzurg Umīd's son and successor, Muḥammad. The sour relations between the Nizārīs and the Abbasids deteriorated further during this period as at Mustarshid's successor, al-Rāshid Bi'llāh who was also killed by the Ismaili *fidā'īs*. This happened during al-Rāshid's revenge campaign against the Nizārīs in Işfahān. Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was able also to subdue his rivals in Daylam and the neighbouring regions, and this made the Nizārī state a major player in the regional politics of Northern Iran.

When Ḥasan II took over from his father, Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd in 557/1162, the Nizārīs had been able to capture many castles in the Rūdbār and Daylam area, and even build new castles in their territories, which consolidated their power and helped them to subdue their enemies. By the end of Muḥammad b. Kiyā Buzurg Umīd reign, not only had the Nizārīs

²⁵³ *Jahāngushā*, Vol. 3, p. 201.

²⁵⁴ MS B64, f. 719. This work which is probably written by Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is being translated for publication by the author.

²⁵⁵ Hodgson, 1955, p. 147.

established their power at Alamūt, but they had also begun to expand into the neighbouring areas. According to the information that Rashīd al-Dīn gives us in his history, on 19th Rabīʿ al-Ākhar 538/31st October 1143, Qutlugh Āba, the governor of Qazwīn fought against the Nizārīs or the *rafiqs*, as referred by the Nizārīs themselves. After a fierce confrontation, he had to return without any result. The Nizārīs moved to Lār, in the vicinity of Sarbashm and Qazwīn to build a new castle. An army from Kharkām, Ṭārum, Abhar, Zangān, Kharqān, Ābah, Sāwah, Damāwand, Dāmghān, Gurgān and Nīshābūr was assembled for Qutlugh Āba who had asked for help in his attempt to stop them. Again, they had to return after besieging the castle for some time had not yielded any results for them. The Nizārīs were able to finish the castle during the winter.²⁵⁶

Few years later, in Muḥṛram 544/May 1149, Muḥammad b. Kiyā Buzurg moved towards Ṭāliqān with his army to build the new castle of Arzhang. Āqsunqur, the governor of Ray confronted them with the Iraq army in the castle of Arzhang. The Nizārīs attacked the Iraq army during the night and managed to kill a group of them, but some were able to escape. Then they returned to Manṣūriyya and on the 5th of Ṣafar/14th June, they made a gate in the castle walls and appointed Khwāja Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd Bū Shujāʿ as the *kūtuwāl* (chief) of the castle.²⁵⁷

In 4th Muḥarram, 553/5th February 1158, 6 years before the Qiyāma Proclamation, the governor of Qazwīn, Bāzdār's son, went with his army to Lambasar and the village of Sukkān. He had two flocks of sheep with him. Kiyā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Khusraw followed them with a batch of two hundred men from Daylamān. They took back the sheep and killed three hundred of the men, captured thirty of them with all their goods.²⁵⁸

The list of prominent figures who were fierce opponents of the Nizārīs and were assassinated by them during the reign of Muḥammad b. Kiyā Buzurg Umīd, demonstrates how powerful had they become at that time:

“The assassination of Rāshid b. Mustarshid ʿAbbāsī in Iṣfahān by the hand of four *rafiqs*... in Ramaḍān 532/May 1138; the assassination of the judge of Quhistān in Āmuy in Sulṭān Sanjar's army camp, by whose verdicts the *rafiq* were killed ... in Muḥarram 533/August 539; the assassination of the judge of Tiflīs, who used to order execution of the *rafiqs* in 533/1139; the

²⁵⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 151.

²⁵⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, pp. 152-153.

²⁵⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 155.

assassination of ‘Ayn al-Dawla Khwārazm-Shāh in Khwārazm at the army camp of Sulṭān Sanjar in mid Jumādī al-Ūlā 534/January 1140; the assassination of the judge of Hamadān ... who had killed and burnt a number of *rafiqs* in Muḥarram 534/ August 1139; ... the assassination of ‘Imād Sharaf al-Mulūk, the minister of Mu‘ayyad al-Mulk at the end of Muḥarram 535/ August 1140; and assassination of ‘Abbās the governor of Ray in Baghdād on the order of Sulṭān Sanjar, sending his head to Khurāsān in 535/1140.”²⁵⁹

Such accounts prove that the Nizārīs had acquired a degree of military and regional success that signified the reappearance of the awaited Qā’im and the beginning of the ultimate era of the Qiyāma which indicated to them. It was by the Proclamation of the Qiyāma that they celebrated this success.

The Era of the Qiyāma in Ismaili thought has been always the symbol of the completion of religions and above all, the symbol of the realization of the “Truth”. According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, “the completion of flaws in the Universal Soul (*naḥs-i kull*) will be fulfilled by the emergence of the Qā’im-i Qiyāmat – ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, as he is the goal of the creation of this world, [and] it is by him that these flaws are completed. He is the meaning of this world and the rest is just words and whispers.... All the previous prophets came [into the world] to bring his good tidings.”²⁶⁰ Therefore, the Proclamation of the Qiyāma was perceived as the fulfilment of the divine promise for completing the creation and addressing these flaws. To the Ismailis of Daylam, there were significant signs of realization of this divine promise, except for the appearance of the Imām who was in occultation. Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām recognized this expectation and tried to realize it.

4.6 Ḥasan II as the Imām-Qā’im

The story of Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām’s status as the Imām-Qā’im is very similar to the previous examples of the Qiyāma Proclamation and the emergence of the Imām-Qā’im in Ismaili history. He ended the period of Occultation (*satr*) that started after separation of the Nizārīs from the Fatimids and the disappearance of the Imām. *Satr* is always a temporary state, and the emergence of the Imām and the ending of this period was already expected by the

²⁵⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1387/2008, p. 156-157.

²⁶⁰ *Rawshanāyī-nāmāh*, MS 772, IIS library, pp. 59-60.

Nizārī community. Ḥasan II who grew in the midst of these expectations and was very well informed of Ismaili history and theology, addressed this expectation in a glorious manner for the Nizārīs by proclaiming the Qiyāma on 17th Ramaḍān 559/8th August 1164.

The process by which Ḥasan II acquired the complete status of the Imām-Qā'im was gradual. From a political point of view, one may argue that Ḥasan's Proclamation of Qiyāma was premature as his status as the Imām-Qā'im was not yet established. He should have waited until his religious authority as the Imām was well established, and then he could declare the Qiyāma. However, he did the opposite. He first declared the Qiyāma as the representative (*khalīfa*) of the Imām. One year after the Proclamation, in a letter that he sent to Quhistān, he said that in "the same way that Mustanşir was the *khalīfa* of God and Ḥasan-i Şabbāḥ a *khalīfa* of Mustanşir, now I am the *khalīfa* of God and Ra'īs Muẓaffar is my *khalīfa*."²⁶¹

There are other indications in the remaining literature that suggest Ḥasan II indirectly alluded to his status as the Imām by claiming to have come from the presence (*dargāh*) of Mawlānā (Imām or the Divine). In a *faşl* known as *faşl-i Dihkhudā Abū 'Alī Shujā'* in an unpublished manuscript dated in 1271/1854 (MS P1), it is said that when this Dihkhudā Abū Shujā' was mourning the death of his uncle Sifahsālār Qaşrānī at the bottom of Alamūt, Ḥasan II summoned him and told: "He comes from the Mawlānā's presence and give you the news of His eternal mercy and blessings." Therefore they should trust him and his *da'wa* by not mourning the dead and the short life in this world.²⁶²

It was during the time of his son and successor A'lā' Muḥammad (Muḥammad II) that his descent from Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was explicitly denied, and it was suggested that he was the son of the Imām himself.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that shows that the nature of this lineage to the Imām was not formulated until the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. According to a new manuscript copy of *Haft-bāb* which was written in 594/1197, during the reign of A'lā' Muḥammad, 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām was counted as the twenty-first Imām after Nizār b. Mustanşir Bi'llāh.²⁶³ This proves that the three linking Imāms (Hādī, Muhtadī and Qāhir) who are currently counted as the Imāms before Ḥasan II and after Nizār were added after this date. Badakhchani

²⁶¹ Juwaynī, Vol. 3, p. 230.

²⁶² MS P1, f. 176. Cortese presents a different version of the same account in her article of "The Ismā'īlī Resurrection of Alamūt". See p. 258.

²⁶³ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 2017, p. 23 (Persian text).

in his new edition of *Haft-bāb* presents a different account of Ḥasan II's genealogy. In the third Bāb of this work, there is an extract from a faṣl by Ḥasan II in which he says: "One should consider the story of the son of Muḥammad in the same manner. Because, he, may God be pleased with him, was the deputy and judge (*qā'im maqam and qāḍī*) of my religion, and so was his son Ḥasan after him."²⁶⁴ It seems that Badakhchani believes that the reference to the son of Muḥammad (Ḥasan) here refers to Muḥammad b. Kiyā Buzurg Umīd and his son, whereas clearly it is a reference to his own son and grandson Ḥasan III. The author of *Haft-bāb* considers this remark to be extraordinary as Ḥasan III, the grandson of Ḥasan II was born few years after making this remark.

The dates of Ḥasan II's birth and death are known to us. Only two years after the death of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, Ḥasan II was born in 520/1126 in Alamūt during the reign of Buzurg Umīd. Almost all of the non-Isma'ili sources acknowledge that he was Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd's son. However, according to a later reconstruction of the Nizārī belief, he was a descendant of Nizār b. Mustanšir Bi'llāh. The genealogy of Ḥasan II has been a matter of interest for anti-Nizārī writers and historians as well. Juwaynī mentioned different versions of these accounts which he claims to be in accord with the Nizārī sources. The story says that in 488/1095, one year after Mustanšir's death, a person trusted by Mustanšir himself, by the name of Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥasan Ša'īdī brought one of Nizār's offspring to Alamūt. Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ ordered to settle him in a village at the bottom of Alamūt, and nobody except him knew about this. When Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd's son was born in Alamūt, Ḥasan II's mother also gave birth to him in the village, and he was secretly taken into the castle of Alamūt. When nobody was near Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd's son, a woman took the Imām's son to the Castle and exchanged the babies. As a result, Ḥasan II who was the Imām's son grew up as the son of Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd.²⁶⁵ Therefore, they held the belief that "the case of Ḥasan II's relationship to Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd is similar to the relationship of Ismā'īl to Ibrāhīm (Abraham). The difference is that Ibrāhīm knew that Ismā'īl was the Imām's son and not his..., but here, Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd did not know this secret (*sirr*), and thought Ḥasan is his own

²⁶⁴ Badakhchani, 2017, pp. 69-70.

²⁶⁵ Juwaynī has recorded two narratives of this story. According to the first narrative, Nizār's grandson had an affair with Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd's wife and Ḥasan II was the result of this illegitimate affair. However, in the manuscript MS 32 there is no mention of this narrative. See *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy*, Vol. 3, p. 232.

son.”²⁶⁶ According to this story, supported by Ismaili sources,²⁶⁷ which is based on stories in Torah, Ismāʿīl is considered to be the son of Malik al-Salām who is called “*Melchizidek*” in the Torah.²⁶⁸

The Nizārī sources have a similar account of Ḥasan II’s genealogy, though with some significant differences.²⁶⁹ It seems that Juwaynī’s anti-Ismaili tendencies made him tamper the account in a spirit of sarcasm in order to defame the Nizārīs. According to the Nizārī account, after the arrival of Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣaʿīdī from Egypt, Sayyidnā settled him in a village at the bottom of the Castle of Alamūt. Imām Hādī and his sons lived in secret there working as religious teachers in the area. Only Sayyidnā, and later Kiyā Buzurg Umīd, knew the identity of the Imām, until Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd came to power when Qāhir b. Muhtadī b. Hādī b. Nizār was the Imām. However, Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was not aware of the Imām. By this time, the identity of the Imām was known to some of the *rafiqs*, but Muḥammad did not accept the truth. One day when Imām Qāhir was out with eighteen of his companions (*rafiqs*), he followed them and killed them all. Then he took the Imām’s wife who was pregnant with ‘Khudāwand’ to his home. At this time, Muḥammad b. Kiyā Buzurg Umīd’s wife was pregnant too. It happened that both had their labour at the same time. Since Muḥammad’s wife had a baby girl and the Imām’s wife had a baby boy, they swapped the babies and in this way Ḥasan II grew up in the house of Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd.²⁷⁰

Historically, we know that the above story cannot be true as Ḥasan II was born in 520/1126, during the reign of Kiyā Buzurg Umīd and only two years after Sayyidnā’s death. However, it shows that the Nizārīs tried to address the issue of Ḥasan II’s genealogy from the early stages. Although in terms of historical evidence, they hardly succeeded in convincing the outside world that Ḥasan II was a progeny of the Fatimid caliphs, at the internal level this issue did not cause a serious threat to the Nizārī ideological and political cohesion, when compared to other succession disputes in past or later periods, which resulted in major divisions within the Ismaili community. This is another proof that the status of Imām-Qāʾim was the result of a popular appeal by the Nizārī community for the appearance of the Qāʾim. The accounts of

²⁶⁶ Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 1987, p. 203, Juwaynī, Vol. 3, pp. 234 – 235.

²⁶⁷ *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, p. 23.

²⁶⁸ ملخیز داق

²⁶⁹ MS 32, IIS library, ff. 114b – 118b.

²⁷⁰ MS Y, pp. 120-125.

Ḥasan II's birth and the arrival of Imām Nizār's son in Iran from Egypt are the endeavours of later authors in polishing the story to add historical credibility.

According to Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām was well versed in philosophy, Sufism, and Ismaili thought, especially the teachings (*da'wat*) of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, whereas his father, Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was not as learned as him.²⁷¹ This was a reason why some people admired him and gradually respected him as much as they did his father or even more, assuming him to be the Imām. This became a matter of great concern for Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd, and therefore he publicly announced that Ḥasan was his own son, and so he could not be an Imām. However, this was not enough and consequently he had to expel two hundred and fifty of these people from Alamūt, and executed the same number. Ḥasan II himself had to write some *faṣls* (passages) to refute the idea that he was the Imām. There are a few quotations from Ḥasan II's *faṣl* on this issue in the *Haft bāb* of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd in which the latter tries to interpret it in a way such that the passage would not contradict Ḥasan II's status as the Qā'im.²⁷²

Ḥasan II was assassinated in 561/1166 in the castle of Lambasar by one of his brothers-in-law, Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar, who was of Būyīd descent. The assassination of Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām could be interpreted as a reaction against the Qiyāma by some factions within the Nizārī community. However, it seems that the opposition to the new era was not strong enough to reverse the policies. After Ḥasan II's death, A'lā' Muḥammad, his son who was only nineteen years old, succeeded him. In fact, he was more enthusiastic about the Qiyāma era (*da'wat-i qiyāmat*) than his father. Upon his succession, he executed Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar and all the members of his family in revenge for his father's death.

The reasons of the assassination of Ḥasan II by Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar are not clear to us. Juwaynī tells us that the main reason for his decision to kill Ḥasan II was the Declaration of the Qiyāma, which was against his beliefs.²⁷³ However, Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar came from a Būyīd Shī'a background and was not an Ismaili. He was related to Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ through marriage and therefore this could not be interpreted as an internal dispute over Ḥasan II's genealogical claims. Nevertheless, it is possible that the controversies that followed the Proclamation of the Qiyāma increased tensions not only between the Nizārīs and the outside world but also

²⁷¹ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 222.

²⁷² Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 1933, p. 22.

²⁷³ Juwaynī, Vol. 3, 1958, p. 239.

between the conservative factions of the Nizārīs and the radical and zealous supporters of the new era. As a result of these tensions, it is possible that Ḥasan b. Nāmāwar had tried to orchestrate a coup against Ḥasan II taking advantage of the fact that his position was perhaps weakened, but he did not succeed. The fact that the entire family of Nāmāwar were executed by the successor of Ḥasan II shows that family politics played an important role in all these affairs.²⁷⁴

Juwaynī reports that a group of the Nizārīs who could not agree with the new reforms introduced by Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām migrated to non-Isma‘ili areas.²⁷⁵ We do not know what the circumstances were in which these people migrated, but it would not have been a great surprise if after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma, the hostility between the Sunnī population of Rūdbār and Qazwīn and the Nizārīs worsened, and consequently the relationship between these communities became too tense to live peacefully.

According to some of the surviving writings of this period, such as extracts of the *Fuṣūl*, it seems that there were many concerns and difficulties over the understanding the Qiyāma Era. We have number of texts in which issues such as “mistaking the Qiyāma with the *ibāḥa* (anarchy)” are discussed in some *faṣls* and the Nizārīs are strongly warned about the dangers of such mistakes. In some other *faṣls* also “things that are not abrogated in the Qiyāma” are listed and the reasons for their necessity are explained. The fact that after the death of A‘lā’ Muḥammad the end of the Qiyāma Era was announced by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, known as “Naw Musalmān”, shows that the opposition to the Qiyāma Era in certain layers of the Nizārī community were strong enough that the Nizārī leaders were obliged to abandon those teachings and take a completely different theological direction.

4.7 Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the Return to the Sharī‘a Era

According to the surviving accounts, upon his accession in 607/1210, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan announced the end of the Qiyāma era, and required the Nizārīs to observe the Sharī‘a obligations according to Sunnī Islam. He sent letters to the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r.

²⁷⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1387/2009, p. 165.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 239.

1180-1225) in Baghdad and to Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh, expressing his rejection of “his ancestors’ belief”, and his adherence to Sunnī Islam. In order to acknowledge the new position, he asked the Caliph to send some jurists (*fuqahā*) to the Nizārī territory to instruct his followers in how to perform Sharī’a rituals.²⁷⁶ There are also reports that even before coming to power, he was in contact with the leaders of the Sunnī world, informing them that he did not follow the practices of the Qiyāma.²⁷⁷ His announcement was readily accepted and the Caliph sent letters of acknowledgment to the local rulers to normalize the relationship with Jalāl al-Dīn. According to these accounts, all the local rulers accepted his claim, except for the Qazwīnīs who were not convinced by the Caliph’s acknowledgment of Jalāl al-Dīn that the Nizārīs had abandoned their practices. Jalāl al-Dīn asked them to send their trustees to Alamūt, and he allowed them to find the books and writings related to the Qiyāma in the library of the Castle. He ordered to put them on a fire with the Qazwīnīs as witness. Finally, they too became convinced that Jalāl al-Dīn’s claims were trustworthy.²⁷⁸ In this way, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was called *Naw-musalmān* (new Muslim).

It seems that abandoning the Ismaili heritage and accepting the Sunnī version of Islam was as radical as the Qiyāma Proclamation itself. There could be several reasons for the change of policy during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan in 607/1210. The main reason that is normally given is his dissatisfaction with the Qiyāma practices that seemed too costly for the Nizārī state in regard to their political and religious interests in the region. Rashīd al-Dīn writes that even during the reign of his father, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan occasionally expressed his dissatisfaction with the Qiyāma practices. His father, A’lā Muḥammad had appointed him as his successor at an early age. However, when Jalāl al-Dīn revealed his dissatisfaction with his father’s policies, tension grew in their relationship and A’lā Muḥammad supposedly wanted to appoint another son as his successor. However, he could not do so because it went against traditional Ismaili belief, according to which the first appointment (*naṣṣ-i awwal*) cannot be changed.²⁷⁹

Politically the Proclamation of the Qiyāma did not bring much success, and presumably it worsened Nizārī relations with their neighbours. The sources tell us that the man responsible for murdering Ḥasan II was his brother-in-law, a Būyīd who was a Shī’a, but not an Ismaili.

²⁷⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 174.

²⁷⁷ Kāshānī, 1987, p. 215.

²⁷⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 175.

²⁷⁹ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol 3, p. 243.

This shows that the Nizārī leaders of Alamūt used to marry women from the local dynasties for making political alliances. These local dynasties were non-Ismailis and therefore, there were always some members of the family of the Imams who did not believe in the Ismaili dogmas, and at the same time they were responsible for bringing up the successor. It is worth noting that the first person who went on the Pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) after the end of the Qiyāma Era was Jalāl al-Dīn's mother, who is said to have been a very pious woman. The Abbasid Caliph placed her caravan ahead of all others, including that of Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh, which became one of the reasons for deterioration of relationships between Khwārazm-Shāh and the Abbasid Caliph.²⁸⁰ This proves that the internal affairs of the Imām's family could have been a decisive factor in such changes of policy.

Another political reason for the ending of the Qiyāma era by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan could have been the Mongol invasion. Rashīd al-Dīn writes, "When the armies of the World King reached the Islamic lands, the first one among the kings from this side of the Jayhūn River who sent an envoy and expressed submission (*ilī*) was Jalāl al-Dīn, who adopted a sound and peaceful policy".²⁸¹ At the same time, he initiated peaceful relation with other local rulers such as the Atābak Uzbek of Ādharbāyjān (d. 622/1225) as well as the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. The new alliance with the Atābak and the Caliph was fruitful for him as cities of Zanjān and Abhar were relinquished to him. The danger of the Mongol invasion could have been one of the reasons for ending the Qiyāma era and the implementation of the *satr* policy, which made the Nizārīs put aside their ideological differences with the Sunnīs and form a united front against the Mongols. This idea is also supported in the accounts of historians like Kāshānī, the author of *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. He mentions correspondence between the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim (r. 1242-1258) and 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 1211-1253), Jalāl al-Dīn's successor, in which they formed a strategy they could pursue against the Mongols. 'Alā' al-Dīn assures the Caliph that he does not need to worry, as they will reach him first. If they could not do any harm to the Ismailis, nothing will happen to the Caliph too.²⁸² Although this account is about the period after Jalāl al-Dīn's reign, it is in line with what Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn wrote about Jalāl al-Dīn's policies and the Nizārīs' concerns for making alliance with their neighbours.

The new policy of Jalāl al-Dīn towards the Qiyāma Proclamation was accepted by the Nizārīs as an act of *taqīyya* (secrecy) by the Imām. Nevertheless, it does not mean that people did not

²⁸⁰ See *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, 2008, Vol. 3, p. 175, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, p. 216.

²⁸¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1387/2008, pp. 177-178.

²⁸² Kāshānī, 1987, pp. 222-223.

have any questions or did not feel ambiguous about the Qiyāma proclamation. In fact, the new material found in some manuscripts show that the leadership of the Nizārīs made many attempts to address these concerns. In one of the passages in an unpublished manuscript this issue is explained by an official during or after Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan. This manuscript which was found in Badakhshān was copied in 1127/1709 by an unknown copyist. It contains wide range of texts by different authors such as Nāṣir Khusraw, Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī and Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, as well as Ismaili authors in later periods. In a passage in this manuscript we read:

“The Sharīʿas of all prophets from Adam to Muḥammad will reach their completion through the Great Call (*daʿwat*). Mawlānā ʿAlā Dhikrihi al-Salām opened the door and revealed all the truth and secrets that were hidden from the people of both Worlds from *Azal* (beginning) to *Abad* (end), like a candle that shines in the dark and the sun that comes out of the cloud. Then Khudāwand-i Aʿzam Mawlānā Muḥammad b. ʿAlā Dhikrihi al-Salām elucidated the matter so that it was acknowledged in all corners of the world. When the final stage of acknowledgment ... reached its peak and completion, the Lord of the Truth Mawlānā Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, Peace be Upon his Mention, revealed the *mabdaʿ* of the current *daʿwat* and brought in the Islamic Sharīʿa, exposing it to the eyes of the ‘truth seekers’ (*jūyandigān-i ḥaqq*), because nothing in itself is truthful (*ḥaqq*) or error (*bāṭil*). *Ḥaqq* would be *ḥaqq* when it is with the *muḥiqq*, and *bāṭil* is *bāṭil* because it is detached from the *muḥiqq* of the time.”²⁸³

According to this, the Imām has the right to change matters of faith based on the provisions of the time and place. That is why Ṭūsī writes that the Ismailis should have their eyes on the “commander” not on the “command”, since the Imāms in different circumstances could give different or even opposing commands.²⁸⁴

Juwaynī writes that after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the succession of ʿAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Qiyāma practice was reinstalled and Jalāl al-Dīn’s policies were put aside.²⁸⁵ However, this proposition does not seem to be quite accurate. There are many indications that ʿAlā al-Dīn continued the previous policies in regard to peaceful relationships with the neighboring rulers, but the advance of the Mongols and gradual influence of the Sunnīs in the Mongol administration transformed the previous dynamism in the politics of the region and that put the Nizārīs in a more vulnerable situation. On the internal level though, the

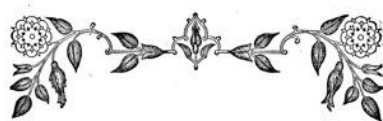
²⁸³ MS BA50, p. 36.

²⁸⁴ *Tasawwurāt*, 2005, para. 266.

²⁸⁵ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 249.

supporters of the Qiyāma era acquired greater freedom to celebrate the legacy of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and the doctrine of Qiyāma, as we can see in the poetry of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd and his *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt*.

5. Qiyāma in Syria



5.1 The Syrian Nizārīs, an Overview

The Syrian Nizārīs were important part of the Nizārī *da'wa* which extended its influence beyond the Persian lands. Although there was a close relationship between the Syrian Nizārī leadership and Alamūt, the contexts that they were operating in were not entirely similar to that of the Nizārīs of Persia. Particularly in relation to the socio-political preparation for the Qiyāma Proclamation and its influence on the following periods, a clear difference could be noticed between that of Syria and Persia. In this chapter, the political circumstances in which Syrian Nizārīs experienced the Qiyāma Proclamation are examined, and there will be an attempt to show both similar and different circumstances in which the Nizārī *da'wa* spread in Syria from Persia. At the end, the remaining literature of the Syrian Nizārīs related to the Qiyāma era is introduced and the examined.

The significant role of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān in shaping the Nizārī *da'wa* should not be ignored. How much of the information we know about his personality is based on facts and how much is merely fantasy by the Nizārīs of Syria or his opponents is another aspect that are going to be discussed. Scholars such as Hodgson and Campbell believe that Sinān's version of Qiyāma was different from that of the Ḥasan II in Alamut, and in reality he put his own personality in the centre of the doctrine rather the Imām in Alamūt.²⁸⁶ Here, this argument is examined against other available evidence in order to cast some doubts on the reading of the literature provided by these scholars.

²⁸⁶ Campbell, 2008, p. 142.

The general perception is that Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ initiated the Nizārī *da'wa* in Syria after he had gained control of the castle of Alamūt. It is possible that, apart from Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, there were other Ismaili *dā'īs* in Syria who supported the succession of Nizār, but we do not know much about them. However, by the beginning of the 6th century of Hijrī calendar (early decades of the 12th century AD.), we notice that the Syrian Nizārīs were actively endeavouring to acquire castles around important cities such as Aleppo and Damascus. During this period, Syria was in a situation similar to that of Persia as political instability spread throughout the Seljuk territory after the death of Tutush in 488/1095, the Seljuk ruler of Syria and the brother of Malikshāh (d. 485/1092).²⁸⁷ He had two sons, Riḍwān (d. 507/1113) and Duqāq (d. 497/1104), who inherited his territory. Riḍwān and Duqāq confronted each other over the succession, but finally Riḍwān retained the title of Sulṭān and Duqāq died in 497/1104. The Syrian Nizārīs tried to ally with Riḍwān against other powers in the region. This is similar to what the Nizārīs in Persia did when they negotiated with the successors of Malikshāh, Birkiyāruq, Muḥammad and Sanjar. They also allied with Birkiyāruq who was in good terms with them, but eventually he was defeated by his brother, Muḥammad Tapar. They also negotiated a peace treaty with Sanjar by means of which they were able to strengthen themselves against their fiercest enemy, Muḥammad Tapar.

The first Nizārī *dā'ī* in Syria was somebody called al-Ḥakīm al-Munajjim who seems to have been a dignitary at the court of Riḍwān, and might have been the person who was able to ensure his support for the Nizārīs.²⁸⁸ The Nizārīs at this stage had successfully strengthened their *da'wa* in Aleppo with his help. However, this initial success was very short lived as Riḍwān died in 507/1113. Alp Arsalān, his son and successor, had to abandon his support of and alliance with the Nizārīs under pressure from Muḥammad Tapar and attacked their headquarters. Muḥammad Tapar had started a fierce campaign against the Nizārīs in the eastern lands in Persia. After this event, Ibn Badī, the governor of Aleppo was given the task of arresting all the Nizārī leaders, including Abū Ṭāhir al-Šā'igh and executing them.²⁸⁹ This event ended the first attempt of the Nizārīs to establish strongholds in Syria.

²⁸⁷ Daftary, 2007, p. 332.

²⁸⁸ Ibn Athīr, 1994, Vol. 10, p. 270.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 499.

5.2 Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān

Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān was originally from the village of ‘Aqr al-Sūdān in the suburbs of Baṣra and was born sometime during the 520s/1126-1135. Not much is known about his family, apart from the fact that they were Shī‘īs. The fact that he went to school with Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd in Alamūt shows that either his family could have been Ismailis or that he was in fact born before the 520s/1126-1135. Daftary writes that he was converted to the Nizārī Ismaili faith in his youth, but attending school in Alamūt alongside the heir-apparent is a very great privilege that it is hard to believe a young convert could enjoy.²⁹⁰

Nevertheless, the relationship between Sinān and Ḥasan II was sufficiently strong that after the latter’s succession in 557/1162, Sinān was appointed by Ḥasan II as the head of the Syrian *da‘wa*. After passing through Mawṣil, Raqqā and Aleppo, he arrived at Kahf in Jabal al-Baḥrā’. For some reason, he did not introduce himself and did not reveal his identity to the Nizārī leaders; probably because he was not sure that he should be accepted as the new leader. It is probable that hitherto, the links between the Nizārī leadership in Syria and Alamūt had not been very strong. It is reported that when Sinān reached Syria there was already a rivalry for leadership between different factions of the Syrian Nizārīs. Immediately after the death of Shaykh Abū Muḥammad, the chief *dā‘ī*, a fight broke out between Khwāja ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd who had succeeded the Shaykh, and two other factions under the leadership of Abū Manṣūr b. Muḥammad, who is believed to have been a nephew of Shaykh Abū Muḥammad and Rāṣ Fahd. Subsequently, Khwāja ‘Alī was murdered by his opponents. It was after this event that Sinān revealed his mission and his appointment by Alamūt.²⁹¹ It is not quite clear exactly when this event took place or how long Sinān had to wait to take over the leadership. Considering the rivalries among the Syrian Nizārī leaders, one may speculate that it must have taken few years to consolidate his leadership among the different pockets of the Nizārīs in the Jabal al-Baḥrā’ and Jabal al-Summāq in northern Syria.

When Sinān took over the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs, control of Syria was disputed between two powerful rivals of the Sunnī world, Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, the lord of Aleppo and

²⁹⁰ Daftary, 2007, p. 367. It is possible that he was a school teacher at Alamūt, teaching Ḥasan II, but later on after Ḥasan II became the Imām, the story was changed since it was not appropriate to introduce him as the teacher of the Imām.

²⁹¹ Hodgson, 1955, p. 186.

Saladin, the rising star of the Ayyuūbids who had ended the Fatimid caliphate in 567/1171. By this time, the Nizārīs had already been able to control number of important castles such as Kahf, Mişyāf and Qadmūs in Jabal al-Baḥrā' and Jabal al-Summāq. Benjamin Tudela, a Jewish traveller from Spain who was travelling in Syria around the same time reports that the Ismailis were at war with the Crusaders in Tripoli as well.²⁹² It seems that during his period of rule in Syria, he had making different alliances with different players of the region, the Crusaders, the Zangids and Saladin.

With his increasing political success after overthrowing the Fatimid caliphate, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193), known as Saladin in the West, tried to penetrate into the north and eastern regions of Syria, and this alarmed the Zangids. Therefore they tried to make an alliance with the Nizārīs in order to confront Saladin. By offering new territories to Sinān, Nūr al-Dīn Zangī sought to entice him to send his *fidā'īs* to assassinate their rival Saladin. But as a result, the attack by the *fidā'īs* was not successful. Consequently, in 572/1176 Saladin moved his army to Jabal al-Baḥrā' and surrounded the castle of Maşyāf. There are many stories about the correspondence of Sinān and Saladin during this event in the Nizārī literature in Syria.²⁹³ These stories are very similar to the stories that are reported in the historiography of the Persian Nizārīs as well, which signifies the extraordinary qualities Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ deployed in dealing with his enemies. Interestingly, both Sinān and Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ began their careers by acting as a schoolmaster, and gradually created a military force by groups of devoted followers or the *fidā'īs*.

In one of these stories that is recorded by Kamāl al-Dīn who wrote one of the earliest biographies of Sinān, Sinān sent an envoy to Saladin to deliver his message. When he met Saladin, he told him that he has been told to deliver the message in private. When Saladin asks all his companions apart from his personal guard to leave, the envoy tells him that he still cannot deliver the message. Saladin says that these guards are like his sons and he would not send them out. Then messenger turns to the guards and says: "If I ordered you in the name of my master to kill this Sulṭān, would you do so?" They answered yes! "Command us as you wish." After this incident, Saladin was inclined to make peace with Sinān.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Ibid., p. 187.

²⁹³ See Kamāl al-Dīn, p. 230.

²⁹⁴ B. Lewis, 1966, p. 237.

There are similar stories in the life of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ as well. None of them were believed to be Imāms, but the existence of such stories among the Nizārīs shows how important these personalities were in creating confidence in their communities.

5.3 Qiyāma in Syrian Literature

Unfortunately, there is not much in the Syrian Nizārī literature about the Qiyāma Proclamation and the way it was received. Since it was only two years after the appointment of Sinān to the leadership of the Nizārīs in Syria the Qiyāma Proclamation took place in Alamūt in 559/1164, we cannot be sure that even on the day of Proclamation, Sinān had revealed his mission to the local Nizārī leaders, as it took some time for him to sort out the local power disputes. This contrasts with the situation in Persia, where the transition of power from Muḥammad b. Kiyā Buzurg Umīd to Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām was smooth and without dispute. On the contrary, even before Ḥasan’s accession to the throne, there were groups of the Nizārīs who believed that he was the actual Imām. However, the sense of ultimate victory and the appearance of the Imām was not present among the Syrian Nizārīs. This is an important point that scholars such as B. Lewis did not consider when they discussed the Qiyāma Proclamation in Syria. Scholars such as Hodgson have written that these differences were a result of a political choice by Sinān to side-line the role of the Imām, and present himself as the focal figure.²⁹⁵ However, there are indications that the basis for this reading could be a misreading by these authors of important surviving texts.

The earliest date in which an event similar to the Qiyāma Proclamation of Alamūt took place in Syria is reported to be 561/1165-6. This is according to the account of *Bustān al-Jāmi‘* which accuses the Nizārīs of changing their *madhhab*, and committing incest, drinking wine during the month of Ramaḍān, and calling themselves *al-ṣuffāt*.²⁹⁶ This was two years after the Qiyāma Proclamation in Alamūt. The other report in which we hear about an incident similar to the Qiyāma Proclamation is found in the account of Sinān’s biography by Kamāl al-Dīn in Ibn ‘Adīm’s history of Aleppo. He writes that he “has heard that he [Sinān] allowed them to defile

²⁹⁵ Hodgson, 1955, p. 199.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

their mothers and sisters and daughters and released them from the fast of the month of Ramaḍān, and they called themselves ‘the Sinceres’.”²⁹⁷ This account is based on the perception of the Qiyāma in the Sunnī world, which was found in Persia as well. They probably wrote down their understanding of the ending of the era of the Sharīʿa. Kamāl al-Dīn recorded the reports of the practices of the Qiyāma among the Nizārīs of Syria in Jabal al-Summāq under the events of the year 572/1176-7. This is almost 13 years after the Qiyāma Proclamation in Alamūt during the reign of Aʿlā Muḥammad, Ḥasan II’s son and successor. Sinān who did not approve of their behaviour is said to have sent an army to Jabal al-Summāq to deal with the issue. However, these people who were accused of such acts attributed their actions to Sinān himself. We do not know how far these accounts are accurate, but it indicates that like the Persian Nizārīs, the Syrian Nizārīs also understood the Qiyāma era different to what their leaders were propagating by the Proclamation. It is also possible that like to the reforms that took place in the interpretation of the Qiyāma among the Persian Nizārīs, the Syrians also had to adjust certain aspects of the initial message. The case of the Şuffāt in 572/1176 might indicate that there was resistance to the reforms which had to be confronted with strong action.

5.4 The Guyard Fragments of *Fuṣūl*

According to the fragments left in scattered manuscripts, such as those Guyard has published in 1874, with a French translation, the understanding of the Qiyāma in the Syrian literature is not so different from what Ḥasan II had expounded in the early stages.²⁹⁸ However, most scholars, such as for instance Hodgson, have argued based on these fragments, that the Qiyāma that Sinān introduced in Syria was different to what Ḥasan II was propagating. The main reason for this misunderstanding was the sources they employed to understand Ḥasan II’s version of the Qiyāma. The most important source on the Qiyāma that they were using was *Haft bāb-i Sayyidnā*, which is a production of later developments and adjustments of the Qiyāma interpretation in the final decade of Aʿlā’ Muḥammad’s (d. 606/1209) reign.

²⁹⁷ Lewis, 1966, p. 230.

²⁹⁸ Guyard Stanislas, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis texte publié pour la première fois avec une traduction complète et des notes*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1874.

The title of Guyard's fragment shows that it is a decree by the Imām:

"Passage (*faṣl*) from the noble words of Lord (*mawlā*) Rāshid al-Dīn, peace be upon him (*'alayhi al-salām*)."

The title of "*mawlā*" is usually used in the Ismaili literature for the Imām only. As for the invocation "*'alayhi al-salām*" similarly it would be very strange for it to be used for anyone other than the Imām. Apart from these two reasons, the word "*faṣl*" in the Nizārī literature of this period is used to refer to the Imāms' decrees or religious instructions. That is why the teachings of Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām are called "*Fuṣūl-i muqaddas*" (sacred passages). Probably it was for this reason that Arif Tamir, the Syrian Ismaili scholar wrote that Sinān was actually the Ismaili Imām. In response to Ivanow, who introduces Sinān as the *ḥujja* of the Imām, he writes that Sinān was in fact Ḥasan II's son whose title was Muḥammad al-Kiyā. The basis of his argument is this same passage, which he had found in an unpublished manuscript in his own possession called *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl*. The very title of the work that recalls the *Fuṣūl* of Ḥasan II's writings, is a clear indication that it should be placed under the decrees and guidance of the Imāms. However, instead of suspecting that these passages might have been falsely attributed to Sinān, Arif Tamir preferred the more challenging idea and argued that Sinān was the Imām.²⁹⁹

In order to prove the similarity of this passage to those attributed to Ḥasan II and his successors in the Persian tradition, the English translation of the Guyard fragment is quoted here:³⁰⁰

"*Faṣl* of noble words of the Lord [*mawlā*] Rāshid al-Dīn, (peace be upon him); it is most excellent as an explanation. My reverence is to my Lord [*rabb*], there is no god but He the high (*al-'alī*), the great).

"Comrades [*rufaḳā'*], we have been absent from you by two absences, by that of potentiality [*tamkīn*] and by that of actuality [*takwīn*]; and we veiled ourselves from the earth of your knowledge [*ma'rifa*]. And the earth groaned and the heavens shook, and they said, O Creator of creatures, forgiving! And I appeared [*ḡahartu*] in Adam, and his *da'wa* was Eve – we assembled the hearts of the believers [*mu'minīn*] the earth of whose hearts groaned in love for

²⁹⁹ See "Sinan Rashid al-Din or Shaykh ai-Jabal" in *al-Adib*, Beirut, August 1953, p. 44.

³⁰⁰ Marshal Hodgson's translation of the text in his *The order of the Assassins* is used here.

us; and we looked upon the heavens of their spirits in our mercy. And the period [*dawr*] of Adam, and his *da'wa* passed; whoever trusted in my knowledge [*ma'rifa*] was saved by my mercy and grace, and whoever among the people denied my *hujja* perished. Then I appeared in the cycle of Abraham under the three titles of star, moon, and sun. And I destroyed the ship, I killed the boy, I built up the wall, the wall of the *da'wa*; whoever trusted in my *da'wa* by grace and my mercy was saved; and I talked with Moses openly [*zāhir*] not veiled; it is I that know the mysteries. I was a door for the seeker, Aaron. Then I appeared [*zahartu*] in the master [*sayyid*], the Messiah, and I wiped [their] faults from my children with my generous hand; the first pupil who stood before me was John the Baptist; outwardly [*bi-z-zāhir*] I was Simon [Peter]. Then I appeared [*zahartu*] in the 'Alī of the time, and I was concealed [*sutirtu*] in Mohammed [or: concealed him?], and he who spoke of my knowledge [*ma'rifa*] was Salmān. Then arose Abū Dharr the true [*ḥaqīqī*] among the children of the old [*qadīma*] *da'wa*, as support of the Qā'im of the Qiyāma, present, existent. And religion [*dīn*] was not completed for you until I appeared to you in Rāshid al-Dīn; some recognized me and some denied me; the truth [*ḥaqq*] continues on and those who speak truth [*muḥiqqūn*] continue on, sure in every period and time.

“I am the master of what is [*ṣāhib al-kawn*]; the dwelling is not empty of the ancient sprouts. I am the witness, the spectator, dispenser [*walī*] of mercy in the beginning and the end. Do not be misled by the changing of forms. You say, so-and-so passed, and so-and-so came; I tell you to consider the faces as all one face, as long as the master of existence [*ṣāhib al-wujūd*] is in existence, present, existent. Do not depart from the orders of him who received your engagement [*walī 'ahdi-kum*] whether Arab or Persian or Turk or Greek. I am the ruler, dispenser of orders and of will. Whoever knows me inwardly [*bāṭin*] possesses the truth. Knowledge of me is not perfect unless I say, my slave, obey me and know me in true knowledge of me: I shall make you alive lime me, you shall not die; and rich, you shall not be poor; and great, you shall not be abased; hear and pray, you will be advantaged. I am the one near who does not depart. If I punish you, it is my justice; if I forgive you, it is my generosity and my excellence. I am the master of mercy [*ṣāhib al-raḥma*] and dispenser of forgiveness and of the clear truth.

“Praise to God, Lord of the worlds; this is a clear explanation.”³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Hodgson, 1955, pp. 200-201.

As was pointed out before, the heading of this *faṣl* indicates that it is by one of the Imāms. Apart from Arif Tamir's clumsy argument that Sinān was the son of Ḥasan II, which contradicts historical facts, no one else has suggested that the Syrian Nizārīs believed that Sinān was the Imām or that he himself made such claims. Such claims would have separated the Syrians from their Persian co-religionists immediately they had been declared, but all the historical evidence confirms that Syria remained loyal to the Nizārī Imām in Alamūt. It was during the periods after the collapse of Alamūt that another schism took place among the Nizārīs at the aftermath of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad's death in 720/1320, which divided them into Muḥammad Shāhīs (or Mu'min Shāhīs) and Qāsim Shāhīs.³⁰² As a result, the links between different Nizārī communities and the Nizārī Imāms weakened, and the role of local *dā'īs* became important. It must have been during these periods that such beliefs developed among some groups of Syrian Nizārīs and texts similar to the Guyard fragment were attributed to Sinān.

The other reason that proves that this *faṣl* belongs to Ḥasan II and not Sinān is the idea of two absences, where it says: "we have been absent from you by two absences." This refers to the belief among the Nizārīs in the early stages after the Qiyāma Proclamation that there were two absent (*mastūr*) Imāms between Nizār and Ḥasan II.³⁰³ According to this idea, Ḥasan II was the son of Ḥusayn b. Hādī b. Nizār.³⁰⁴ Therefore, between Ḥasan II and Nizār there were two absences, which are symbolically here referred to as *tamkīn* (potentiality) and *takwīn* (actuality). The plural pronoun of "we" (*naḥnu*) shows that he was referring to the line of the Imāms.

The other noticeable point in this text is when it discusses the origins of the Imām: "Do not depart from the orders of him who received your engagement [*walī 'ahdi-kum*], whether Arab or Persian or Turk or Greek." This clear emphasize on obedience to the Imām regardless of his origin could be a reason to any possible opposition to Ḥasan II's claims and the doubts over his genealogical origin.

³⁰² Daftary, 2007, p. 413.

³⁰³ See Badakhchani, S. J., *Spiritual Resurrection in Shi'i Islam*, 2017, p. 68.

³⁰⁴ The accepted view in later periods is three Imāms, Qāhir, Muhtadī and Hādī, but Juwaynī writes that there were groups who considered Qāhir to be the *kunya* of Ḥasan II. See Juwaynī, 1958, vol. 3, p. 236.

The idea of “appearing” or *zuhūr* is also in line with the Qiyāma and the appearance of the Qā’im. In different Persian Nizārī texts surviving from the Alamūt period we come across this concept. In the *Dīwān-i qā’imīyyāt* there is a poem which is written following another poem by an earlier poet who lived during the time of Ḥasan II, celebrating the Qiyāma Proclamation and the appearance of the Qā’im. In the opening line of the poem we read:

“The Qiyāma is upon us and the Qā’im has appeared (*kard zuhūr*).”³⁰⁵

Different texts of this age prove that the concept of *zuhūr* signifies the appearance of the Qā’im or the hidden Imām.

According to the above points, the text known as Guyard fragment is probably part of the same letter sent to Sinān in Syria one or two years after the Qiyāma Proclamation in 561/1166. Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn write that it was in a letter sent to the Ismailis two months after the Proclamation in Alamūt in which Ḥasan II claimed to be the deputy of God on earth and the Imām. This is the same period that is reported by some sources such as the *Bustān al-jāmi’* that the Ismailis in Syria changed their religion (*madhhab*), drank wine during Ramadan by night and by day, practised incest, destroyed their mosques and abolished prayer. They called themselves al-Ṣuffāt (the pure).³⁰⁶ This incident has been recorded by other chroniclers for the year 572/1176-7. If the account given by Dhahabī is accurate, the whole event took place after the death of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, since he records the incident under the year 561/1165. According to Dhahabī, Kiyā Muḥammad sent a letter to Sinān decreeing the end of religious obligations. If we accept this account, the letter must be by A’lā’ Muḥammad (r. 561-606/1166-1209), whom is wrongly referred to as al-Kiyā Muḥammad in some Arab sources of this period.³⁰⁷

5.5 Conclusion

The Syrian Nizārīs were part of the Nizārī *da‘wa* directed from Alamūt. Although they acted independently in their military affairs, there is no indication that they attempted to claim ideological independence from Alamūt. Therefore, the Qiyāma Proclamation among the

³⁰⁵ *Dīwān*, 2011, p. 241.

³⁰⁶ Kamāl al-Dīn, 1966, p. 241.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Syrian Nizārīs was an extension of the event in Alamūt, which consolidated the status of Sinān representing the Imām. As it took some time for Sinān to consolidate his power among the Syrian Nizārīs after being appointed by Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām to the leadership of the *da‘wa* there, it is possible that the Qiyāma Proclamation of Alamūt took place before his leadership was established. Therefore, the Syrian Proclamation should have happened some years later when his position was secure enough for such ideological reform.

Unfortunately, there are few records about the perception of the Qiyāma among the Syrian Nizārīs and the way they received it. The accounts available to us show that the Qiyāma in Syria created the same complications as it did in Persia. The practices attributed to the Nizārīs of Jabal al-Summāq which made Sinān to deal with their case severely proves that the understanding of some Nizārī groups was that through the Qiyāma all the obligations of the Sharī‘a had been removed. Similar incidents are reported among the Nizārīs of Persia as well as in some communities of the Druze. In all of these examples, the confusion created by the Qiyāma and the ending of the Sharī‘a era brought misunderstanding and division among these communities, and politically put them in a vulnerable situation as their enemies could more easily accuse them of heresy.

6. Qiyāma Literature (1): Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-
Salām and His *Fuṣūl*



We have different sets of Ismaili literature from the Alamūt period that address different ideological issues. The concept of the Qiyāma forms an important part of them. The first set of these writings are referred as the “*Fuṣūl*” which were basically written by the Nizārī Imāms and address different theological and ethical issues. The second set consists of works written by different Nizārī authors in different forms of prose or poetry. In order to understand how the concept of the Qiyāma was understood and developed during the Alamūt period, the *Fuṣūl* literature will be studied in detail. On a different level, in order to find out how the Qiyāma era affected the life of the Ismailis and how it influenced their perspective on the outside world, the newly published work of *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt* will be studied in detail separately.

Before Ḥasan II, the idea of the Qiyāma was not much discussed in the Nizārī literature. Even in the discussions with their Sunnī rivals during the reign of Muḥammad b. Kiyā Umīd, we do not see any reference to such ideas as the place of the Qā’im and end of the Sharī’a era. Quite the opposite, we come across ideas expressing full agreement with the general Islamic beliefs. For example, in 544 A.H. Sulṭān Sanjar reaches Ray and sends two people, Isfahsālār ‘Alī Ṭūsī and Kiyā Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Jabbār as his envoys to Alamūt, enquiring about their faith. In response, the Nizārīs say:

“[we believe that] there is a God and He is one. He should be known through reason; and the correct opinion is what corresponds to the words of God and His prophet. Observing the Sharī’a rules is compulsory, as implied by God’s order and the Prophet’s Traditions. And we believe in whatever God has mentioned in the Qur’ān and the Prophet has explained about, such as the ‘Origin’ (*mabda’*) and the ‘Return’ (*ma’ād*), the ‘Reward’ (*pādāsh*), ‘Punishment’ (*jazā’*), and the ‘Hereafter’ (*qiyāma*). No one is allowed to change or modify a word, and it will

continue to be so until the Qiyāma. This is our belief. If it is good, let it be so, if not, send us a scholar so that we explain what we believe, so things get settled.”³⁰⁸

These accounts show that at the initial decades of the establishment of the Nizārī state, rhetorically they took a peaceful position and did not emphasis on ideological differences. However, the Sunnī rivals around them did not respond accordingly and did not reduce their hostilities towards them. However, the Qiyāma referred here is in its general scatological sense believed by all Muslims.

Qiyāma in its Nizārī Ismaili sense was firstly developed by Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām in different passages which were called “*Fuṣūl*”. As they were highly commemorated by the Nizārīs, they were generally referred to as “*Fuṣūl-i Muqaddas*” (the sacred chapters) among them. These passages are frequently quoted and referred to in almost all the Alamūt and post-Alamūt literature, whenever different aspects of faith or Ismaili ethics are discussed. Nevertheless, most of the “*Fuṣūl*” has been lost. Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī in his autobiography called “*Sayr wa Sulūk*”³⁰⁹ mentions this text and explains an occasion before joining the Ismaili castles when he accidentally came across this “valuable” text, which was in the hands of the wrong man, and how he managed to get hold of the book and benefit from it.³¹⁰

The issues discussed in the *Fuṣūl* cover different ranges of doctrinal topics such as Imāma, the ethical principles and most importantly the features of the Qiyāma era. These writings do not seem to have been produced in an orderly manner. They were probably occasional writings or talks which were produced in certain times, when people raised questions about certain ethical or theological issues, or even certain events or occasions that were regarded important. For this reason, sometimes the language and the style is close to spoken language.

6.1 Ideological Innovations in the *Fuṣūl*

During the Fatimid period, Imāma was generally understood as the person in charge of the *ta’wīl* (interpretation), after the Prophet who was in charge of the era of *tanzīl* (revelation). He was required to be appointed (*manṣūṣ*) by the previous Imām and followed by the Ismailis as

³⁰⁸ *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, 2007, Vol. 3, pp. 156-157.

³⁰⁹ Translated and published as *Contemplation and Action* by J. Badakhchani in 1998.

³¹⁰ pp. 6 – 7.

an infallible person. However, after the Declaration of the Qiyāma in the Alamūt period by Ḥasan II, the perception of the Imām was reformed. Now, the Imām was not only the sole authority to interpret the Qur’ān and guide the faithful, he was also the representation of God on Earth. This is a very delicate issue for which many polemicists have accused the Nizārīs of believing in divinity of the Imām. The famous poet and writer of the Alamūt period, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd writes at the beginning of his second chapter in *Haft bāb* that “[God] the exalted always has a representation in this world by which he has dignified man, and all the prophets has referred to a man who represents God among people.”³¹¹ Although this text is written forty years after the Qiyāma Proclamation, we can find some extracts attributed to Ḥasan II that show he acknowledged such views. In one of these extracts he states: “the Imām will never change: ‘We are the people of eternity’.”³¹² However, in the available remaining of the *Fuṣūl*, there is not any direct reference to such idea as “God in the form of a man”, which is explained in Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd’s writings in *Haft bāb*.³¹³ From this aspect, there are some similarities between the Nizārīs and the Druze, but it is not clear if the Nizārīs were under the influence of the Druze literature, or these ideas were simply present from early stages of Ismaili *da‘wa* development.

6.2 Ḥasan II’s Letter to Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr

The most important ambiguity that remained after the Qiyāma Proclamation was the exact meaning of such event in the way Ḥasan II was understood and propagated. One of the most valuable texts written by Ḥasan II that was hidden so far and recently has been discovered is a letter attributed to Ṭūsī in an unpublished manuscript in the University of Tehran, which based on its colophon a particular Muḥammad Shafī b. Khwāja Muḥammad has completed in Shawwāl 1180/1767. This letter is part of a collection of different texts of Sufi and Ismaili content, including Ṭūsī’s *Taṣawwūrāt and Sayr wa sulūk*.³¹⁴

The letter is written in reply to the questions that a particular Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr has raised regarding the meaning of the Qiyāma based on the descriptions of the Qur’ān. Apart from the

³¹¹ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 1933, p. 8.

³¹² «و امام هرگز بنگردد: نحن اناس سرمديون». *Paradise of submission*, Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ṭūsī, 2005, p. 152.

³¹³ *Haft bāb*, 1933, P. 24.

³¹⁴ See the “Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn” in the previous chapter.

language, the style and the rhetoric employed in the letter that resemble the remaining passages of *Fuṣūl* in other sources, it does not fit within the language and the style of Ṭūsī as well. The second and the most important reason is questions posed to him that questions the era of the Qiyāma based on the description of the Qur’ān which do not fit with what happened in Alamūt. In answering the question, there is a clear reference to himself as the author of the *Fuṣūl*, where he reminds Kiyā Shāh that “we have already explained the real meaning of this heaven and earth in the *Fuṣūl*”.³¹⁵ Referring to himself as “we” (ﻟﻤﺎ) as the one who has defined the issue before in the “*Fuṣūl*” proves that Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām is the real author not Ṭūsī. If it was written by the later Imāms, for sure there should have been references to Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām himself or his *Fuṣūl* as the main source of the doctrine of the Qiyāma. Furthermore, the general approach to the concept in this letter is in contrast with other writings of Ṭūsī in his *Maṭlūb al-mu’minīn* and *Taṣawwurat*.

In this letter Ḥasan II explains his interpretation of the Qiyāma through verses of the Qur’ān that has been posed to him. It also helps us to understand how he approached the Qur’ān and in what way he uses Qur’anic references in support of his doctrine.

We do not know who exactly this Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr was. The name of “Kiyā” (king) itself was quite common among the Northern provinces of Iran at the time and there are many Ismaili figures in this time whose names are accompanied with this title such as Kiyā Buzurg Umīd or Kiyā Ja’far. The nature of his questions shows that he was a knowledgeable and prominent person in the *da’wa* hierarchy. It is also a projection of the issues and concerns created after the Qiyāma Proclamation within the Ismaili community right in the beginning, and among the high hierarchies. At the same time, it shows the attempt by Ḥasan II himself to address the issues and concerns of his community.

In this letter, almost every important Qur’anic verse on the issue of the Qiyāma has been quoted and explained. There are many verses in the Qur’ān which describes how the events unfold at the time of the Qiyāma. Due to the significance of this text, I have edited and translated it here. The edited text of the letter comes part of the appendix (No 2), but the translation and the analysis in which its main points are explained come here:

³¹⁵ MS T, f. 99.

6.3 Translation³¹⁶

He is the Supporter

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate the Merciful

Khwāja has written [this] in reply to the question posed by Kiyā Shāh Amīr.

“In accordance to ‘Nothing will happen to us except what Allah has decreed for us: He is our protector’ (9:51), the letter of Kiyā Shāh Amīr, May God assist him- was given [to us] and its content was known. What he has said agreeably about the knowledge of God the Almighty Mawlānā ‘Alī and his children one by one: ‘Offspring, one of the other’ (3:34)-Prostration to their mention-, and what he has said that to him it is certain that the wise and the learned require instruction (*ta’līm*) and guidance in every period in their search for the knowledge of God the Almighty, and he has no objection to them; on what we agree, there is no need to debate.

What is left is few questions that he has asked about the signs of the Qiyāma. First, the interpretation of the verses ‘the day [*yawm*] that We roll up the Heavens like a scroll rolled up for books (21:104), and ‘the Heavens will be rolled up in His right hand’ (39: 67), and the meaning He is aiming for; also ‘We shall produce from the earth a beast’ (27:82); and in explaining the [verse] ‘the trumpet will (just) be sounded, when all that are in the Heavens and on earth will swoon (39:68); also ‘one day the earth will be changed to a different earth’ (14:48); also ‘and thy Lord cometh, and His angels, rank upon rank’ (89:22); and ‘the prophets and the witnesses will be brought forward and a just decision pronounced between them, and they will not be wronged (in the least)’ (39:69); also ‘and when the graves are turned upside down’ (39:69); and ‘when the earth is shaken to her (utmost) convulsion’ (99:1) and all the chapter – Praise to the Creator of the Worlds was said. And also the interpretation of ‘when the sun (with its spacious light) is folded up, when the stars fall, losing their lustre’ (81:2) and the whole *sūra*; and the interpretation of ‘near the lote-tree, near it is the garden of abode’

³¹⁶ For the translation of Qur’ānic verses, the Yusuf Ali’s translation has been used.

(53:15). Could you graciously explain these signs that all people have noticed in a way that I can comprehend?

Answer – Godspeed!

The question that he has asked: ‘the day [yawm] that we roll up the heavens like a scroll rolled up for books’ (21:104). You should know the meaning of ‘the Heaven and the earth’ and what he means by them. God has said: ‘verily your lord is Allah, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and is firmly established on the throne’ (10:3). In Persian it means that ‘We have created this Heaven and earth in six days’. Now these six days are also created of the Heaven and earth, as the cause of day is the sunrise, and the cause of the night is the sunset that covers the earth. And the cause of sunrise and sunset is the moving Heaven. When there were not any Heaven and earth, what was the number of six in which these Heaven and earth were created. Then, if the Heaven and earth are taken as assumption, so that through them the Heaven and earth are created, this issue will come back again, as these assumed Heaven and earth will need another Heaven and earth and it will result in continuum which is impossible.’

No! There is an interpretation for the literal revelation (*tanzīl*): ‘But no one knows its hidden meanings except Allah, and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge.’ (3:7) And nobody beyond God the Almighty and the ‘*rāsikhūn*’ in knowledge has the authority of interpretation. For this reason, He says: ‘ask the people of remembrance if you did not know’ (16:43), and he has specified ‘people of remembrance’: ‘Imāms who guide by Our orders and We reveal to them’ (21:73) [which] He has said on their status ‘Nay, here are signs self-evident in the hearts of those endowed with knowledge.’ (29:49) Each one of them is a guide for people in an age: ‘thou art truly a warner, and to every people a guide.’ (13:7) They speak of the Truth, but common people (*‘awām*) who are the *ahl-i zāhir* of the *tanzīl* would think of *tanzīl*. [God] says in the *zāhir* of *tanzīl*: ‘Say: who then sent down the book which Moses brought? - a light and guidance to man, but ye make it into (separate) sheets for show, while ye conceal much (of its contents).’ (6:91)

According to these explicit proofs, it is obvious that the Heaven and earth created in six days are not the Heaven and earth that the common people can see, [because] if it was this, it was ‘show and conceal’ (*tabdūn wa takhfūn*), and there was no difference between *ta’wīl* and *tanzīl*, and there was no need for this specification: ‘But no one knows its hidden meanings except Allah, and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge.’ (3:7) No! There is a real meaning for

this and a '*sirr al-asrār*' (secret of all secrets) that God the Almighty has explicitly preserved in the chest of the '*ulamā*' of religion: 'Say enough for a witness between me and you is Allah, and such as have knowledge of the book.' (13:43) He does not say 'someone who has the *ẓāhir* of the Book', as all Arabs and the '*ajams*' know that. Why is the knowledge limited to one person? Although we have explained the meaning of this Heaven and earth in few places in the *Fuṣūl*, we explain it more clearly for you here.

By Heaven and earth, He means the principle of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. And these six days are the days of the Prophets from Adam to Muḥammad-i Muṣṭafā – May peace be upon them. And the length of every day is one thousand years: 'verily a day in the sight of thy Lord is like a thousand years of your reckoning.' (22:47) And it is known that there is six thousand years between Adam and Muḥammad-i Muṣṭafā. The same way that the phases of Creation such as semen (*nutfa*) and coagulum ('*ulqa*') get to the complete form when they reach the sixth, Prophethood (*nubuwwa*) too reached its complete phase by Muḥammad-i Muṣṭafā. Since the complete does not need another completion, he was called 'Khātām al-Anbiyā'. Same way that the Creation was completed when it reached the sixth phase, completion in form has been [based on] 'then We developed out of it another creature' (23:14). As on the status of Muḥammad-i Muṣṭafā He has said: 'for indeed he saw him at a second descent, near the Lote-tree beyond which none may pass' (53:13-14), which is the ultimate of the six cycles, same way that it reached 'We developed out of it another creature', from this world we approach another world.

Also, when the status of prophets reached the ruling of 'For indeed he saw him at a second descent' (53:13), it is the time when we move from the *ẓāhir* world of *tanzīl* which is all the Sharī'a cycles of prophets towards the *bāṭin* world of *ta'wīl* that is the Qiyāma. It is for this reason that the Prophet –May peace be upon him and his family– has said that there will not be any prophet or Sharī'a after me except for the Qiyāma and the Qā'im. My supremacy over other prophets is that the law of every prophet is abrogated by another prophet, except for my law, which will remain until Qiyāma, and its abrogator (*mutaṣarrif*) will be the Qā'im-i Qiyāmat- the one who 'has knowledge of the book' (13:43). When he is asked to specify the one with the 'knowledge of the book', on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās- the seed giver (*badhr-dih*) of the Abbasids- he says: 'he is 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib'.

This is why Mawlānā 'Alī says that the true Qur'an is the one which is in my chest, not the one on Mu'āwiya's spears. There is no salvation through those words without this meaning! If there was salvation by those words without this meaning, the seventy-three Muslim sects

who all read these words and know its Persian translation should have been saved. The purpose of this explanation is to make you aware that it is proved based on the Qur'an that there needs to be an interpretation for the Qur'an. The phrase that 'We created the Heaven and earth in six days' was also explained through *ta'wīl* and *tanzīl*, that it is not the conventional Heaven and earth. Since the argument was clearly proved in the case of the Heaven and earth, it is counted as a key for other secrets.

The Sun and the Moon of that Heaven and earth is something and those of this Heaven and earth another. Whoever has a reasoning vision and sound understanding will comprehend all the secrets of *tanzīl* by this. Do you assume that when He describes the Prophet as 'one who invites to Allah's (grace) by his leave, and as a lamp spreading light' (33:46) and 'the sun as a (glorious) lamp' (71:16) the Prophet has been such a lamp that common people assume him to be a physical sun or lamp? That Sun is one thing and this light another.

Regarding what he asked about 'the earth will be changed into a different earth' (14:48), this also conveys the same meaning: the *tanzīl* will be changed into *ta'wīl*, and the Sharī'at into the Qiyāmat, and from the world of *tanzīl* we move towards the world of *ta'wīl*, and from the world of the Sharī'a we move towards the Qiyāma, and from the physical world towards the Hereafter.

On the interpretation of 'When the sun (with its spacious light) is folded up, when the stars fall, losing their lustre' (81:2) that he asked about, it means that the light of the seven pillars of the Sharī'a will disappear through the sunlight of the *ta'wīl* world that is the World of the Qiyāma. And those stars that have been dependants and beneficiaries of the *tanzīl* light such as the *fuqahā* and the *'ulamā* of the Sharī'a will be all lightless, so that all are annihilated into the exalted light of the Qiyāmat that is the world of *Wahdat* in line with 'but will abide (for ever) the face of thy lord, - full of majesty, bounty and honour' (55:27), 'everything (that exists) will perish except his own face' (28:88), 'whose will be the dominion that day? That of Allah, the one the irresistible!' (40:16)

On what he asked about the meaning of 'And when the graves are turned upside down' (39:69); whatever was said about the Heaven and earth, the Sun, the moonlight and the stars, the same is true about the graves, since these graves are not the physical graves. Like these graves in which a person's body is buried after his soul is departed, the physical body of people is the grave of the soul. Resurrection from that grave is [like] being awakened from that grave of ignorance. The Prophet-Peace be upon him and his family- says: 'People are asleep, when they

die, they are awakened (*darū harāsand*).’ Then he says: ‘woe to the one who is awakened after death’, and he says: ‘blessed is whoever is awakened before death’. Awakening before death is resurrection from the ignorance grave, and the resurrector is the Qā’im-i Qiyāmat. Now, this Qiyāmat and Resurrection is useful before death. It has no use when the task [i.e. life] is terminated-after this world, it is the abode of Paradise or Hell. The Resurrection that benefits the good people is that which occurs before death, and their souls reach the light of the Qiyāmat World. The bad people cannot be awakened at that time, even if they want to be: ‘And between them and their desires, is placed a barrier.’ (34:54) ‘Every time they wish to get away therefrom, they will be forced thereinto, and it will be said to them: taste ye the penalty of the Fire.’ (32:20)

On what he has asked about the secrets of ‘and thy Lord cometh, and His angels, rank upon rank’ (89:22): The coming of the Lord the Exalted is the appearance of the light of the *waḥdat-i qiyāmat*, not what the common people imagine, as God the Almighty is beyond (*munazzah*) physical transformation and movement: ‘Against that which ye assert, it is Allah (alone) whose help can be sought.’ (12:18)

The interpretation of the ‘angels rank upon rank’ is not what the common people imagine, that his head is in the fourth Heaven and his wings are in the East and the West, and his feet are on earth. They have assumed such a frightening physical thing that cannot be found through the physical senses. God the Almighty says: ‘Had We appointed him (our messenger) an angel, we assuredly had made him (as) a man’ (6:9) as Man has the best stature (*aḥsana taqwīm*). No stature could be imagined better than Man. If there was any, that should have been the ‘*aḥsana taqwīm*’ not this one. [The idea] that they line up at the presence of God the Almighty is unity with the light of the Great Sun of the Qiyāmat through the absolute purity of God.

[The idea] that the prophets are present at the Qiyāmat is also not the way they have imagined. Resurrecting the prophets is reviving their call which has been explained in codes and signs. These codes, signs and intentions are brought to their intended end through the light of the Qiyāmat which is the Great Call of the Qā’im, and all differences [of religions] which they have brought are removed: ‘The decision between them (at judgment) will be in (perfect) justice, and the cry (on all sides) will be, praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds!’ (39:75)

On the interpretation of 'the trumpet will (just) be sounded, when all that are in the heavens and on earth will swoon' (39:68), this blowing (*naḥkh*) and the swooning (*ṣā'iqā*) is not the way the *zāhirīs* imagine! The meaning of this blowing [is that] in the beginning of the Qiyāmat, Raphael (*isrāfīl*) of the Qiyāmat will come as – 'if we had made it an angel, we should have sent him as a man' (6:9)- and bring a preaching by which he will resurrect the soul of every being in Heaven and earth in six days- each the equivalent of one complete Sharī'a cycle. This means that the *zāhir* of the worldly Sharī'a will be broken in his hand, until the second occasion, in which the blowing of the Qiyāmat resurrects the dead in the graves of ignorance through the light of the Qā'im of the Qiyāmat and his call.

As Sayyidna who is the 'initiator of the Qiyāmat Trumpet Blast' (*nāḥikh-i šūr-i qiyāmat*) at the opening of this *da'wa* of Qā'im-i Āl-i Muḥammad – Prostration upon his mention- made all the creatures of the Heaven and earth die with two words, likewise, in this Blast (*naḥkh*) the Qā'im-i Āl-i Muḥammad has resurrected those dead from their graves of ignorance. The same way that you are now being awakened by this 'Secret of the Secrets' (*sirr al-asrār*) that your mind is unable to comprehend, and he is resurrecting you from the death of negligence in the grave of ignorance. What did your Reasoning Soul know about this *sirr al-asrār*. 'they are (as it were) being called from a place far distant!' (41:44) This blast and swoon (*ṣā'iqā*) which God the Almighty says should be understood in this way.

In regard to Moses, the divine call and the invocations: When he went for invocations, he said: 'O my Lord! show (Thyself) to me, that I may look upon Thee. Allah said: by no means canst thou see me (direct); but look upon the mount ... He made it as dust, and Moses fell down in a swoon. When he recovered his senses, he said: 'Glory be to Thee! To Thee I turn in repentance' (7:143) [Persian translation continues]. When a portion of the light by epiphany of *waḥdat* reached that mount by His order, Moses fell swooning. When he regained his consciousness, he found out that it is not possible in his rank to project the *waḥdat* light of the Qiyāmat through the *zāhir* of the Sharī'a World. Falling down in a swoon is an example of the first Blast and regaining consciousness is an example of the second Blast. In that cycle (*dawr*), the mount and Moses [represent] the minimal ruling (*ḥukm-i juzwī*), and this Grand cycle in which Moses and other prophets have enunciated [represents] the general ruling (*ḥukm-i kullī*), which applies to everyone living in the Heaven and earth of the Sharī'a World.

On what he has asked about the 'Sidrat al-Muntahā' where God the Almighty address the Prophet-Peace be upon him- and its meaning: that Scale of Heaven and earth is the general

Scale, by which you can measure all these meanings if you observe properly [?].³¹⁷ In same way that the Heaven and earth is not this Heaven and earth, this tree also is not such a physical tree as the common people have imagined, because it belongs to the God Almighty and the Hereafter. And in the Hereafter, all are living; the trees there are all living and speaking (*nāṭiq*): but verily the home in the Hereafter, that is life indeed, if they but knew.’ (29:64)

When according to: ‘had We appointed him (our messenger) an angel, we assuredly had made him (as) a man,’ (6:9) He refers to an angel. That tree is also a reference to a man, intermediate between God and the Creation. And by his mouth, God said to the Prophet-Peace be upon him: ‘a goodly word like a goodly tree, whose root is firmly fixed, and its branches (reach) to the heavens’ (14:24). Take the Heaven (*‘arsh*), Throne (*kursī*), Tablet (*lawḥ*) and Pen (*qalam*) as this example. Whatever is connected and united with the presence of the Exalted Truth possesses light and speech. Any form of matter (*jimād*) or mortal (*mawāt*) has access to there. Do you think that the tree from which Moses heard the call: ‘Verily I am Allah’ (28:30) was such a miserable tree? How can He call the ‘*aḥsana taghwīm*’ through a miserable form (*ṣūrat*)?

The fact that the Prophet and the true lovers said such words was due to the intellectual weakness of their people, who did not have the ability to think it is possible that God the Almighty might pronounce in human language ‘Verily I am Allah’. Therefore, it must have been kept secret, and instead be announced that such call was heard from a tree, so that they would accept it.

If you look through the “eyes of reason” (*chashm-i ‘aql*), there are many wonders that you cannot see through your physical eyes. Here, you see through the “eyes of reason” that the living are the dead, and also through your physical eyes you see those who are the living in the eyes of reason are dead. For this, God, the Almighty says to the Prophet: ‘thou wilt see them looking at thee, but they see not.’ (7:198)

For example, these infidels, and God the Almighty says about them: ‘they are things dead, lifeless’ (16:21); these infidels are dead not living. In regard to the killed faithful (martyrs) He says: ‘Think not of those who are slain in Allah’s way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their

³¹⁷ Some lines seem to be missing here.

sustenance in the presence of their Lord, they rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah.’ (3:169)
[Persian translation continues]

And Peace be upon the Master of prophets, Muḥammad and his Holy Family. For us Allah sufficeth, and He is the best disposer of affairs, (3:173) and the best help. (8:40) Allah is sufficient and the rest is fantasy.”

By which conventional reason could you comprehend this? [...] ³¹⁸ Except they come to this [idea] that we propagate in the world, and summon all from the abyss of polytheism and blasphemy to the end of eternal *waḥdat*: ‘for any that has a heart and understanding or who gives ear and earnestly witnesses.’ (5:37)

There are few important points in this letter that constitute the fundamentals of his doctrine of the Qiyāma:

1. The descriptions of the Qiyāma in the Qur’ān have an esoteric meaning

For example, explaining the meaning of the verse in the Qur’ān, “The day [yawm] that we roll up the heavens like a scroll rolled up for books (21:104)”, Ḥasan begins with the meaning of “yawm” (day), by quoting another verse in which God says He “created the heavens and earth in six days” (10:3), he says a “day” for God is not the same as ours. One “day” for God is equivalent to one thousand years, and each thousand years forms a prophetic cycle which belongs to a designated prophet. And therefore, he says to Kiyā Shāh he should not take the verse literally, and he should consult the “*rāsikhūn fī al-‘ilm*” (people firm in the knowledge) in these issues. ³¹⁹ Likewise, in the case of other verses which he was questioned about, he applies the same method. He refutes the literal meaning and using different references within the Qur’ān itself as well as Prophetic Traditions, and supports his own spiritual interpretation

³¹⁸ There should be something missing here.

³¹⁹ This is part of a verse in the Qur’ān that the Shī‘as and the Sunnīs are divided in its interpretation. The Shī‘as believe that God limits the number of people who know the “*ta’wīl*” of Qur’ān to Himself and “the *rāsikhūn fī l-‘ilm*”, who are believed to be the Imāms. However, the Sunnīs read it in a way that means “only God knows its *ta’wīl*”.

of the Qiyāma. As an explanation for the *sūra* of Takwīr and “the darkened sun and stars” (81:2) he says “the real meaning is that the light of the seven pillars of the Sharī’a and *tanzīl* will be made to disappear by the light of the sun of the *ta’wīl*, which is the world of the Qiyāma.” This explanation is quite similar to what Ḥamza b. ‘Alī presents in his *Rasā’il* to explain his version of the Qiyāma.

2. The esoteric meaning is in the possession of the Imām

The *bāṭinī* meaning is different from the *ẓāhirī* meaning and one needs to be the “*rāsikhūn-i fi’l-‘ilm*” to be able to decode the verse. Then he quotes a few verses to prove who are “*rāsikhūn-i fi’l-‘ilm*”. He does not directly refer to himself as one of them, but the arguments imply that he should be one of them. At least here there is no direct reference, however as he endeavors to answer the question which only the *rāsikhūn* should know, he indirectly claims this status.

3. The Qiyāma is a spiritual awakening before the physical death.

For him, the meaning of “*wa nufikha fi šūr*” (the Trumpet was blasted) at the time of the Qiyāma is also a blowing that initiates spiritual awakening. He says that in the opening of the Qiyāma, Isrāfīl of the Qiyama will come, and bring a summons (*da’wat*) by which he will make all the creatures die. At this stage which was started by Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, the *ẓāhir* of the worldly Sharī’a will break down in his hands. Then in the second blow by the Qā’im, all of these dead will be resurrected from their graves of ignorance by the light of the Qiyama.

4. The prophets are present in the Qiyāma through their Sharī’as.

And the prophets being present in the Qiyama arena is not as has been assumed. Bringing the prophets back to life is the rejuvenating of their summons, because they talked through symbols and allusions. These symbols and allusions will have attained their final meanings by the light of the Qiyāma. Then he tries to explain different periods of religion from the time of Adam to that of the Prophet Muḥammad, and says that there will not be any Sharī’a after him.

However, his Sharī'a will be abrogated by the Qā'im who has the ultimate status. That is why he proudly said the Sharī'a of every prophet was abrogated by another prophet, except his, which will be abrogated by the Qā'im, or "someone who has the knowledge of the book". He tries to disqualify his Sunnī opponents here as well by quoting Ibn 'Abbās on the definition of "the one with knowledge of the Book." "When he was asked 'who is this man?', on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, the forefather of the 'Abbasids, he replied 'He is 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib'."

5. The Qiyāma is the world of *ta'wīl* and *waḥdat* (Unity)

Finally, the Qiyāma is also the world of *waḥdat* or Unity. This is explained by the story of Moses in the Qur'ān when he besought God, "O my Lord! Show (thyself) to me ... (7:143)." And in reply he hears, "By no means canst thou see Me." Ḥasan II says that the reason for this was that he was asking for something that was beyond his rank. God proved his inability by striking his light on the mount. This light, According to Ḥasan's interpretation, was the "Light of Unity" (*nūr-i waḥdat*), by which the mountain fell apart and Moses fainted. When he regained consciousness he found out that it was not allowed of his rank, which he calls the "exoteric world of the Sharī'a", (*ẓāhir-i 'ālam-i sharī'at*) to project the Light of Unity of the Qiyāma. The reason for talking in this language is because of the weakness of their people's reasoning, that would not allow them to understand the real meaning without the symbols and signs.

Unity with God is one of the important aspects of the Qiyāma Declaration. The reason Ḥasan II removed the Sharī'a constraints was his belief that the Nizārīs had reached God: "We know that it is the day of the Qiyāma. Whoever reached God has got the eternal reward, and whoever did not, he will fall for ever."³²⁰

The idea of unity with God is a well-established notion in the Persian Sufi tradition. Famous Sufis such as Ḥallāj (d. 922) and Bāyazīd Baṣṭāmī (d. 874 or 877/8) are among the first Sufis, who for the first time publicly claimed unity with God. The well-known phrases of "*ana al-*

³²⁰ MS Y, p. 54.

ḥaqq”³²¹ by Ḥallāj, and “*subḥānī mā a‘ẓama sha’nī*”³²² by Bāyazīd are the most famous utterances of this kind among the Sufis, which conveyed the idea of unity with God, though it brought misery for them after being accused of heresy. Rumi at the beginning of his fifth *daftar* of the *Mathnawī* writes:

«لو ظهرت الحقایق بطلت الشرایع»³²³

“If the truths appear, the laws (*sharā’i*) disappear.”

In the writings of Ḥasan II, we come across similar ideas. In one passage he states that one should consider every *ḥalāl* in the Sharī’a *ḥarām* as a sign of unity with God: “The sign of ‘unity’ is that it will not be contained except in pure hearts. [On this stage], one should consider *ḥarām* whatever is *ḥalāl* in Sharī’a.”³²⁴ In another passage, explaining the importance of uniting with God, he writes: “The reward is being close to God. When you are nothing, He is everything. There is no closeness (*qurbat*) closer than this.”³²⁵

6.4 Qiyāma versus Sharī’a

The Qiyāma in the *Fuṣūl* is basically explained as the opposite of the Sharī’a. This opposition of these two concepts is an important principle in Nizārī Ismaili thought. In Fatimid literature too, the dichotomy of the Sharī’a and the Qiyāma remained a main feature. As Sajistānī writes, all different and opposing Sharī’as will be united by revealing their hidden truths and become one single *umma*. Therefore, we can say that the era of the Sharī’a is when the rules of the *tanzīl* governs, and the era of the Qiyāma is when the *ta’wīl* rules are enforced. Ultimately, the Sharī’a era (*ẓāhir*) is abolished by the emergence of the Qā’im, as all religions are unified. In the remaining extracts of the Qiyāma *khuṭba* by Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, delivered on the

³²¹ ‘Aṭṭār Nīshābūrī, *Guzīda-yi tadhkirat al-anbiyā*, ed. Muḥammad Isti‘lāmī, Sipihr Publications. Tehran, 1372 / 1993, p. 415.

³²² Balkhī, Jalāl al-Dīn (Rumi), *Mathnavī*, Daftar (section) 4, ed. Muḥammad Isti‘lāmī, Zawwār Publications. Tehrān, 1372 / 1993, p. 105.

³²³ *Mathnawī*, Vol. 5, p. 8. In another place he says:

چون شدی بر بامهای آسمان / سرد باشد جست و جوی نردبان. (Vol. 2, verse 1402)

³²⁴ MS Y, pp. 36 – 37.

³²⁵ *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, p. 36:

و خداوند قیامت میفرماید که صواب قربت با خداست، چون تو هیچ نباشی همه او باشد. قربت از این نزدیکتر نخواه.

occasion of the Qiyāma in 559/1164, the Qiyāma is defined as the day in which the Truth is explicit and there is no need for the language of signs and symbols. It is a day of transparency:

“Arise! The Resurrection of all Resurrections is upon you. Today, God does not guide through signs and symbols. Today, He is not known through the signs, [speeches], allusions, and physical forms of worship... Today the deeds, the speeches, the signs and the references have attained their final end.”³²⁶

This idea that the Sharīʿa is God’s message in symbols and signs and their actual meaning will be revealed by the Qiyāma has been repeated in the above letter where Ḥasan II writes: “Each one of them [the prophets] has spoken in the language of codes and signs. By the Grand Summons of the Qāʾim of the Qiyāma, all these codes and signs attain their actual meanings.”

This idea is explained in different language in Ṭūsī’s *Taṣawwūrāt* as well, where he compares the two worlds of *Tanzīl* and *Taʾwīl* as the “dream” and its “interpretation”. The dream could be a combination of signs or references to different locations in the past or present time, which could be truthful or not. Therefore, there is a need for an interpreter. The “interpreter” is the Imām who explains how these references correspond to the original meaning.³²⁷

In an unpublished passage quoted in MS T,³²⁸ that should belong to the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 652/1254) in the Alamūt period this idea is also reaffirmed. In this passage, there is a reference to Khwāja-yi ‘Amīd Jamāl al-Dīn Abu al-Maʿālī as someone living. Khwāja-yi ‘Amīd had the position of vizier in Alamūt in 637/1239, and the author of *Qāʾimiyyāt* mentions him in his work as well. In this text, it is stated that attaining the ultimate meaning of religion is achieved by crossing over the Pillars of the Sharīʿa:

“If the Prophet had not crossed over the Pillars of the Sharīʿa, he would not have reached the ultimate (*aqṣā*) Heaven of goals [*miʾrāj*]. He had to move from the worldly *sharʿī* conditions to the religious and eschatological condition, in order to join the Masjid al-Aqṣā of *Ḥaqīqa*

³²⁶ *Haft bāb-i Abū Ishāq*, 1957, pp. 40 – 41.

³²⁷ *Taṣawwūrāt*, 2005, pp. 140 – 141.

³²⁸ MS T. For Codicological information see the Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn.

through the Masjid al-Ḥarām of the *Sharīʿa*.³²⁹ Therefore, in order to reach the sublime status, people need to surpass the World of the *ẓāhir*.³³⁰

Then he quotes Khwāja ‘Amīd Jamāl al-Dīn Abu al-Ma‘ālī who heard the following from the Imām himself, probably ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad.

“What has been uttered in the words of the Sacred and the Blessed [?], and was remembered by Khwāja ‘Amīd Jamāl al-Dīn Abu al-Ma‘ālī –Lasting his grace- was this that ‘Adam had to leave the Heaven in order to his prophethood be established, and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā –Peace be upon him and his family- had to go to Heaven from earth so that his prophethood be established. And Jesus too first had to ascend to Heaven from earth ‘And We raised him to a lofty station’ (19:57), and finally come back to earth.”³³¹

Through this symbolic interpretation of the Masjid al-Aqṣā and Masjid al-Ḥarām in the story of the *miʿrāj*, along with the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Qiyāma has been defined as the ultimate Meaning or Truth which could be achieved in the state of Unity with God, and this cannot be achieved except through by-passing the bindings of the *Sharīʿa*.

The question that arises here is to what extent the *Sharīʿa* laws were abrogated by the Proclamation of the Qiyāma. There are some conflicting remarks in the remaining passages of the *Fuṣūl* that makes it difficult to have a clear understanding of how the *Sharīʿa* was understood and practiced after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma. In his opening sermon, Ḥasan II clearly stated that the time of “signs” and “symbols” had passed, and the time of obvious truth had come. According to this understanding, the *Sharīʿa* laws are temporary measures introduced in special circumstances to address the spiritual and social needs of society. Accordingly, it would be reasonable to believe in a state when there is no need for those measures. Therefore, in the same way that the previous religions were abrogated or “completed”, the last cycle of the *Sharīʿa* is abrogated by the Qāʾim during the Qiyāma.

³²⁹ Reference to the Qurʾānic verse: “Glory to (Allah) Who did take His servant for a Journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did bless, - in order that We might show him some of Our Signs: for He is the One Who heareth and seeth (all things).” (17:1)

³³⁰ MS T, f. 142.

³³¹ Ibid., ff. 142-143.

In most of the chronicles which deal with the Nizārīs of Alamūt, it says that Ḥasan II “directly or indirectly” had said: “As in the Sharī’a period people are punished if they do not obey the Sharī’a rules and observe the Qiyāma rules, in the same way during the Qiyāma period they will be punished if they observe the Sharī’a rules instead of the Qiyāma rules.”³³² However, in Nizārī literature one cannot find such a verdict and sometimes one comes across the opposite.

In a passage which most probably is part of the *Fuṣūl* of Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, it is explained who the true Ismaili faithful is. In this passage, the ethics of people of the different ranks or worlds of *mu’minī* (people of faith), *mūqinī* (people of conviction) and “*ahl-i waḥdat*” (people of unity) are explained. On the world of the “*mūqins*”, he writes that “Whatever is *ḥalāl* in the Sharī’a, he [the *mūqin*] should consider *ḥarām*”. Therefore, he is not allowed to shift between the two worlds, because if “he does some according to the [world] of unity and something according to the [world] of the Sharī’a, he is considered *mushrik* (infidel).”³³³ This is quite in harmony with the general understanding of the Nizārī spiritual hierarchies or different worlds (*akwān*). In this type of classification, people are divided into three categories or “*kawns*”: *kawn-i taḍādd* or the world of Opposition, *kawn-i tarattub* or the world of Gradation and the *kawn-i waḥdat* or the world of Unity.³³⁴ According to this classification, one cannot live in two *kawns*. In the first *kawn*, people live in a state in which the Truth (*ḥaqq*) and non-Truth are mixed. In the second *kawn*, people begin to climb the ladder of spirituality and the last *kawn*, is all Unity with God and nothing else. The Qiyāma is for those who reached the world of Unity and therefore the rules of the Qiyāma apply to them.

The idea of opposition between the Sharī’a and the Qiyāma caused misunderstanding. In some passages of the *Fuṣūl*, this misunderstanding was addressed. As an example, there is a passage of the *Fuṣūl* in a manuscript in which one of these misunderstanding is explained. The manuscript which is identified as MS M here comes from Quhistān area (South Khurāsān today) and was copied by a certain Ma’sūm b. Faraḥ Qā’inī in 1059/1649. It is written in good Nasta’līq, but with heavily damaged paper in a way that some texts are incomplete. It is a collection of short texts, majority of which are titled “*faṣl*” and “*qit’a*” and have all the linguistic and doctrinal features of Alamūt tradition. In this passage we read:

³³² Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 1987, p. 205.

³³³ MS Y, p. 18.

³³⁴ See *Taṣawwūrāt*, p. 52.

“This issue, that people say there is no worship and obedience during the Qiyāma, [is wrong]. Whoever is like this has no worship (*‘ibādat*) and obedience (*ṭā‘at*). There is no worldly (*khalqī*) worship. Is not there any divine (*khudāyī*) [worship] too? This is impossible! [Real] worship is the worship of the Qiyāma, since worship is only for God. Worldly worship, which was virtual (*majāzī*) was abrogated, because it was transformed into the real worship which is particular to God. Therefore [people] know that in the [world] of the Sharī‘a, people worship a stone, clay, water or something which is nothing, as if they were worshipping God. Now, God is specified and obvious. Divine obedience and worship is one thing and the worldly one another.”³³⁵

According to this idea, even during the Qiyāma period there will be a form of worship, but it will not be the same as the Sharī‘a one.

There are many passages from the *Fuṣūl* that show there was a good deal of misunderstanding among the Nizārīs about the way the Qiyāma era should be observed. Many people raised fundamental questions about different aspects of the new era, similar to what we read in the letter by Kiyā Shāh and Ḥasan II’s answer. It was not only those who had doubts about the new era who raised their concerns, sometimes even the zealous Nizārīs asked questions about the ambiguous aspects. For example, in a manuscript that we identify here as MS B50, there are some information that shows some of these questions. This manuscript is a big *majmū‘a* copied in 1121/1709 in Badakhshān by an unknown copyist, containing the largest number of *Fuṣūl*. More codicological details of the manuscript is not available as the actual manuscript is kept in Khorugh, Badakhshān and only a digital copy was accessed. The text is written in black Nasta‘līq on eastern paper, without any decorations. The texts with the features of *Fuṣūl* are titles *Qit‘a* or *Faṣl*, and sometimes they begin with “such says ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām” (*‘alā dhikrihi al-salām mīgūyad...*) which is common in all other examples.

In this passage which is clearly from the Alamūt period, it is asked that “Why did someone who was the “*muḥiqq*” (referring to ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām) had conducted “*namāz*” (prayer) on the day of the Qiyāmat?” This question refers to the proceedings of the Proclamation of the Qiyāma when Ḥasan II closed the proceedings by standing in prayer (*namāz-i ‘īd*). The answer that is presented to this question is the principal on which usually all doctrinal

³³⁵ MS M, ff. 23b – 24a.

changes by the Imāms in the Ismaili history were based. According to this principal, the Truth (*ḥaqq*) has always depended on the Imām (*muḥiqq*), and it is nothing but what the Imām does or says.³³⁶

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's writings on the Qiyāma show that he tried to modify the early interpretation of the Qiyāma and make it subtler so that it would be more acceptable to the more conservative world of Sunnī Islam. He explains that the only difference between the Sharī'a period and the Qiyāma period is that in the Sharī'a period worship is limited to certain times, whereas in the Qiyāma period there is no time specified for worship.³³⁷

It seems that even the Nizārī Imāms gradually felt that there was a need to warn the zealous members of the Nizārī community of the delicacy of the Qiyāma and its implications for the community. In a long *faṣl* (passage) which seems to be by one of the Imāms in the post-Qiyāma period,³³⁸ it is clear that some very serious concerns had been expressed about the way Qiyāma was practised by some Nizārīs. The Imām warns them of the mis-interpretations of the Qiyāma which could make them "people of permissiveness" (*ibāḥatiyān*). He complains that some of his followers have abandoned the Sharī'a in all its forms (Zoroastrians, Jews or Christians) for the ease of their lives and warns them that if they do not return to the right path, they would be awaiting God's punishment.³³⁹ In another place he writes, "You do not fulfil the obligations and the conditions of any religion, and have abandoned the Sharī'a for the ease of your life, and do not step on the path of the Truth firmly. Shame on you! You attribute all these things to me, but you do not know anything about me!"³⁴⁰

Although the language and the rhetoric in this passage is similar to other writings of this period on the theme of the Qiyāma, the clear contradictions with what Ḥasan II explains in his answer to Kiyā Shāh shows that it belongs to the later period of Alamūt, when the doctrine of the Qiyāma was reformed or even banned in practice during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan.

What all these remarks prove is that the Proclamation of the Qiyāma was a coin with two sides; on one side it created an ideological fever and brought the sense of hope and victory for the Ismailis which they always expected. On the other side, it created many ambiguities

³³⁶ MS B50, p. 8.

³³⁷ Ṭūsī, 2005, Para. 321.

³³⁸ No name is given in this text for the author. However, the title "*faṣl*" and the language of the text, the context and the rhetoric proves that it is by a post-Qiyāma Imām during the Alamūt period.

³³⁹ MS Y, p. 40.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

and confusions in practice and in its theoretical presentation to the outside world as well as to the Nizārī community.

There is no information about what exactly Ḥasan II abolished by announcing the end of the Sharī'a. The Sharī'a is a collection of rules or codes which comprise rituals (*'ibādāt*), social interactions (*mu'āmilāt*) and legal contracts (*'uqūd*). Ḥasan II in his Qiyāma sermon says that he removed the limitations (*band wa aghlāl*) of the Sharī'a. There is no historical evidence to support the idea that by the Proclamation of the Qiyāma the Sharī'a was in its totality and in the different aspects of the "*'ibādāt*" (rituals), "*mu'āmilāt*" (social interactions) and "*'uqūd*" (contracts), abolished. Removing all these aspects of the Sharī'a would have resulted in complete anarchy, and no account of anarchy has been recorded among the Nizārīs in this age. Furthermore, the state of lawlessness and anarchy does not go along with the strict spiritual and ascetic aspects of the Qiyāma doctrine which emphasized constant piety and remembrance of God. This proposition is supported in the remaining literature of this period as well. In one of the passages (*qit'a*) which has the same features as the *Fuṣūl*, but its author is unknown to us, is written:

"In regard to the issue that if the whole Sharī'a is abrogated there will be shortcomings among human beings, and many illegitimate (*ḥarām*) actions will emerge in situations without a Sharī'a rule (*siyāsat-i shar'i*). You should know that some aspects of the Sharī'a are 'rational' (*'aqlī*) and some other 'conventional' (*waḍ'i*). The 'rational' aspects can never be removed, such as regarding adultery or similar cases, also the execution of *qishāṣ*, marriage or trade contracts between people, as there would be no order in the world if you removed them.... And the 'conventional' such as ablution (*ābdast*), prayer (*namāz*), fasting (*rūza*), alms (*zakāt*), pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and so on which are the secondary (*furū'āt*) [could be removed].³⁴¹

Therefore, it seems that the Sharī'a which was understood to have been removed was limited only to the rituals which had certain symbolic values, but it did not include the legal and ethical aspects of the Sharī'a.

6.5 Ghazālī's Answers to Questions asked by the Ismailis in Hamadān

³⁴¹ MS T, p. 7 (f. 97).

The Ismailis had theological questions on the obligations and the related reward (*thawāb*) and punishment (*‘iqāb*), even before the Qiyāma Proclamation. We see the issue of obligations and its status during the final era of the Qiyāma at the centre of the debates between the early Ismaili *dā‘īs* such as Nasafī and al-Rāzī, as well as Kirmānī. Among different polemical works that Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) wrote against the Ismailis, there is a short *risāla* in which he replies to four questions posed by the Bāṭinīs in Hamadān on the nature and the necessity of the obligations or *takālīf*.³⁴² It is not clear who exactly asked these Questions, but as Ghazālī lived during the early periods of the Nizārī *da‘wa*, it is possible that they were asked by the Nizārīs. As the issue of obligations is at the centre of these questions, it would be beneficial to go through the questions and Ghazālī’s answers briefly here.

The questions begin with the issue of contradiction between the status of the absolute all-sufficiency (*istighnā*) of God and imposing obligations: “Do not all Muslims believe that God - May His mention be Exalted - is all-sufficient of everything and does not need anything? Then they still believe that He obliged all of them to worship Him and acknowledge Him? How do [you see this is logical] that an all-sufficient one obliges someone whom He does not depend on to do something that He would not need?”

Ghazālī’s answer to this point is that there is no contradiction between obligations and God’s state of all-sufficiency. He argues based on the words of God in the Qur’ān that the beneficiaries of the obligations are the people themselves.

The second question is built upon the first question. In this question, the standard Islamic belief in the ultimate aim of the obligations in the form of reward and punishment is questioned. Ghazālī is asked “what is the need for punishing His people whom He obliged to do something, and when they do not fulfil it, He would punish them?” This idea looked “logically impossible” to those who posed the question. They argue that “if He had no need of this [obligation], then the idea is actually impossible and against wisdom. If God needed that, then he would not make obligations as He is able to reward and punish anybody He wants. Therefore, obligation is again unnecessary and against wisdom. Need is a shortcoming, and need cannot be attributed to Him the Exalted, as He is all-sufficient without need.”

³⁴² This *risāla* was published first in *al-Manār*, 8 (1287/1870), pp. 601-608. It was republished in Iran recently by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Sākit as “*Digar-andīsh wa digar-andīshān*” in his *Shīwāyī wa Shaydāyī*, Intishār Pub., Tehran, 1386/2007.

In the third question, as if they had predicted Ghazālī's answer, they tried to question the relation between the obligations and the benefits that God has associated with them: "God the Almighty obliged people to worship [Him] so that they benefit from it. Do you think [God]-Exalted His mention- was not able to benefit them without the obligations, therefore he had to oblige them first, and then benefit them? If His intention was their benefit, then the obligation is nullified. If it is unnecessary and if he is not able to do that except through obligation, then [His] power is nullified and incapacity proved. This is impossible."

In the fourth question, the unquestionable state of obligations that contradicts with reason, which is the most important quality of man, is addressed. "God the Almighty is not questioned over what He does, [but] people are. This is something that astonishes minds! Is it permissible that a wise person (*ḥakīm*) recommend something based on wisdom and reasoning, then forbid the wise to discuss it? Is not this an example of oppression, since He created the intellect for these people as the proof to guide or warn them?"

This question shows that the Ismailis, who were interested in interpreting all different aspects of religion in order to find logical meanings for them, were struggling in their minds to justify the fixed nature of the obligations. Although these questions are quite bold in the way they are raised - something that we rarely see in the works of most Ismaili *dā'īs* such as Nāṣir-i Khusraw - the general approach is in line with the outcome of the Qiyāma Proclamation. The obligations were something that could not exist in the Qiyāma era as their existence contradicts with intellect, as in this era intellectual meaning will prevail. The obligations belong to the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) aspect of religion, and the world of the Qiyāma is where the esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspect of religion dominates.

The other conclusion that is drawn from these questions is the concept of the *takālīf* (obligations) used in them. The *takālīf*, which are normally understood as rituals and practices related to worship, form part of the Sharī'a, but they are not the whole Sharī'a. This is another indication that what was removed by the Proclamation of the Qiyāma was the *takālīf* not the whole Sharī'a.

In conclusion, the remaining extracts of the *Fuṣūl* and other pieces of Ḥasan II's writings show that at the beginning of the proclamation, there was a radical understanding of the new era of the Qiyāma. However, after some time, the ambiguities in the doctrine of the Qiyāma brought confusion and misunderstanding, in such a way that the Nizārī Imāms had to warn their followers against mistaking the Qiyāma for *ibāḥa* (permissiveness). These confusions and

misunderstandings gradually turned into radical reforms in the leadership of the Nizārī community. The opposite policy taken by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, the second successor of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām was the result of a disagreement in the Nizārī leadership. In the next section, I will examine the reasons behind the change of policy and the return to the Sharī’a era during the reign of this Imām.

6.6 Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the Return to the Sharī’a Era

According to the accounts of Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, upon his accession to the throne, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan announced the end of the Qiyāma era in 607/1210, and required the Nizārīs to observe the Sharī’a obligations according to the Sunni Islam. He sent letters to the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r. 1180-1225) in Baghdad and Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh, expressing his disbelief towards his ancestors’ belief, and his adherence to the Sunni Islam. He also asked the Caliph to send some jurists (*fuqahā’*) to the Nizārī areas to instruct the Nizārīs how to perform Sharī’a rituals.³⁴³ There are also reports that even before coming to power, he was in contact with these people and had informed them about his intention.³⁴⁴ Therefore, his claim was easily accepted and the Caliph sent letters of acknowledgment to the local rulers to normalize relationship with Jalāl al-Dīn. Based on these accounts, all of the local rulers accepted his claim, except for the Qazwīnīs who were not convinced by the Caliph’s acknowledgment. Jalāl al-Dīn asked them to send their trustees to Alamūt, and he allowed them to find the books and writings related to the Qiyāma in the Alamūt library and he ordered to put them on fire to their witness. Finally, they were also convinced that Jalāl al-Dīn’s claims are trustworthy.³⁴⁵ In this way, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was called *naw-musalmān*, (new Muslim).

There could be several reasons for the change of policy during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan in 607/1210. The main reason that is normally mentioned by the historians of the age is his dissatisfaction with the Qiyāma practice. The dissatisfaction of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan could have been for political or religious reasons, or a combination of both. Rashīd al-Dīn writes that even during the reign of his father, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan used to express his disbelief towards the

³⁴³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 174.

³⁴⁴ Kāshānī, 1987, p. 215.

³⁴⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 175.

Qiyāma practice and his father's belief. His father, A'lā Muḥammad had appointed him as his successor in his early ages. Gradually when Jalāl al-Dīn revealed his dissatisfaction with his father's policies, tensions grew in their relationship and A'lā Muḥammad supposedly wanted to appoint another son of his as the successor. However, according traditional Ismaili belief always the first appointment (*naṣṣ-i awwal*) cannot be changed as it is based on the God's will.³⁴⁶

Politically the Proclamation of the Qiyāma did not achieve much in their relationship with their neighbours, and presumably it worsened it. There are reasons to support that internal disputes may have been responsible for this change of policy as was the external disputes. The man responsible for murdering Ḥasan II was his brother-in-law, from the Būyid family who were Twelver Shī'īs, not Ismaili. This shows that the Nizārī leaders of Alamūt at the beginning used to marry women from the local dynasties in order to make political alliances. These local dynasties were non Ismailis and therefore, always there were some members in the family of the Imāms who did not believe in Ismaili faith, and at the same time they were responsible for raising up the next successor. It is worth noting that the first person who went to pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) after the end of the Qiyāma Era was Jalāl al-Dīn's mother, who is said to be a very pious woman, and the Abbasid Caliph placed her caravan ahead of others including that of Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh.³⁴⁷ This proves that internal affairs within the Imām's family could have been a decisive factor in such changes of policies.

Another possible reason for ending the Qiyāma era by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan could have been the Mongol invasion. Rashīd al-Dīn writes that "when the armies of the World King reached the Islamic lands, the first one among the kings from this side of the Oxus (Jayhūn) River who sent his envoy and expressed submission (*īlī*) to the Mongols was Jalāl al-Dīn, who adopted a sound and peaceful policy".³⁴⁸ At the same time, he started a peaceful relationship with other local rulers such as Atābak Uzbek (d. 622/1225) as well as the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. The new alliance with Atābak and the Caliph was fruitful for him as cities of Zanjān and Abhar was relinquished to him.

The implementation of the *satr* policy could have been due to the danger of the Mongol invasion, which made the Nizārīs put aside their ideological differences to form a united front

³⁴⁶ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol 3, p. 243.

³⁴⁷ It is said that this incident was a major reason for Khwārazm-Shāh's disappointment with the Abbasid Caliph. See *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, 2008, Vol. 3, p. 175, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, p. 216.

³⁴⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1387/2008, pp. 177-178.

against the Mongols. This idea is supported by the account of Kāshānī the author of *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* as well. He mentions a correspondence between the Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 1242-1258) and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 1211-1253), Jalāl al-Dīn’s successor, in which they negotiated the strategy against the Mongols. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn assures the Caliph that he does not need to worry, as they will first reach him. If they could not do any harm to the Ismailis, nothing will happen to the Caliph too.³⁴⁹ Although this account is related to the periods after Jalāl al-Dīn’s reign, it is in line with what Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn wrote about Jalāl al-Dīn’s policies and the Nizārī’s concerns for making alliance with their neighbours.

The new policy of Jalāl al-Dīn concerning the Qiyāma era was understood by the Nizārīs as an act of *taqīyya* (secrecy) by the Imām. Nevertheless, it does not mean that people did not have any questions or ambiguities about the changing policies regarding the Qiyāma era. New materials from this age found in unpublished manuscripts show that the Nizārī leadership made attempts to address the concerns and justify these changes. In one of the passages in an unpublished manuscript an explanation has been presented about the changes, probably by an official during or after Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan:

“The Sharī‘as of all prophets from Adam to Muḥammad will reach their completion through the Great Call (*da‘wat*). Mawlānā ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām opened the door and revealed all the truth and secrets that were hidden to the people of both Worlds from *Azal* (beginning) to *Abad* (end), like a candle that shines in the dark and the sun that comes out of the clouds... Then Khudāwand-i A‘zam Mawlānā Muḥammad b. ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām elucidated the matter so that it was acknowledged in all corners of the world. When the final stage of acknowledgment ... reached its peak and completion, the Lord of the Truth Mawlānā Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, Peace be Upon his Mention, revealed the *mabda’* of the Actual *da‘wat* (*da‘wat-i fi‘lī*) and presented the Islamic Sharī‘a, exposing it to the eyes of the ‘truth seekers’ (*jūyandigān-i ḥaqq*), because nothing in itself is truthful (*ḥaqq*) or error (*bāṭil*). *Ḥaqq* would be *ḥaqq* when it is with the *muḥiqq*, and *bāṭil* is *bāṭil* because it is separated from the *muḥiqq* of the time.”³⁵⁰

According to this belief, the Imām has the right to change matters of faith based on provisions of time and place. In accordance to this idea, Ṭūsī writes that the Ismailis should have their

³⁴⁹ Kāshānī, 1987, pp. 222-223.

³⁵⁰ MS. B50, p. 36.

eyes on the “commander” not on the “command”, since the Imāms in different circumstances could give different or even opposing commands.³⁵¹ This is another example in Ismaili history when the necessity for a doctrinal reform arose due to unprecedented political circumstances.

Juwaynī writes that after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the succession of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the Qiyāma practice was reinstalled and Jalāl al-Dīn’s policies were put aside.³⁵² However, this proposition does not seem quite accurate. There are many indications, like the letter quoted by Kāshānī sent to Baghdād by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, that he continued the previous policies in regard to peaceful relationship with the neighboring rulers, but the advance of the Mongols and gradual influence of the Sunnīs in the Mongol administration transformed the previous dynamism in the politics of the region. These circumstances put the Nizārīs in a more vulnerable situation. On the internal level though, the supporters of the Qiyāma era gained more freedom to celebrate the legacy of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and the doctrine of Qiyāma, as we notice in the poetry of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd and his *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt* discussed in the next chapter.

³⁵¹ *Tasawwurāt*, 2005, para. 266.

³⁵² Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 3, p. 249.

7. Qiyāma Literature (2): *Dīwān-i Qā'imiyyāt* and
Celebration of the Qiyāma



One of the most important works produced during the Alamūt period is *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, written by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd-i Munshī. This work which was until recently unknown to scholars in the field of Ismaili studies was published in Iran in 2011.³⁵³ As the title of the work signifies, this book of poetry was written in celebration of the idea and the era of the Qiyāma, proclaimed by Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II) in 559/1164. Although he was not personally present during the time of the Proclamation at Alamūt, he is one of the rare Nizārī writers who lived during the period following the Proclamation and experienced different phases of the history of this idea in the life of the Nizārī State of Alamūt. He is the author of *Haft bāb* known as *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, and he is considered to be the compiler of Ṭūsī's lessons in the form of *Rawḍat al-taslīm*. Furthermore, his position as the scribe in the da'wa hierarchy provided him with the opportunity to have access to all the important materials present in his time. Apart from this, the Qiyāma teachings were elaborated and strongly propagated during the reign of A'lā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām who was Imām of the time in the early years of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's life. This could be the reason why his references to the event are phrased in a way that implies he was an eyewitness to them. Therefore, compared to other sources, his information about the event and the concept seems first-hand.

Although our prime concern in discussing *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* is not only as a historical source, there are many historical references in the poems of this work the historicity of which we

³⁵³ This work has been edited by S. J. Badakhchani, and Shafī'ī Kadkanī has written an introduction on the features and the significance of the work. *Mīrās-i Maktūb* has published the book in 2011 in Tehran.

need to evaluate. We are aware that there are strong reservations about using poetry as a historical source in modern historiography, but the descriptions of the Qiyāma and the events associated with this era are more important for our purpose here than the actual historical facts.

Before going through Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's understanding of the Qiyāma declaration, we need to introduce him first so that we can better understand him and his position regarding different ideological issues in his *Dīwān*.

Unfortunately, however, we do not know much about the life of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd. According to scattered information in different sources such as *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn³⁵⁴ and *Zubda al-tawārīkh* of Kāshānī³⁵⁵ we can say he wrote a book on the history of the Nizārīs which is occasionally quoted in these histories. All of these sources, as well as Ṭūsī's *Sayr wa Sulūk*³⁵⁶ state that he was in the service of Muḥtasham Shihāb al-Dīn (r. until 621/1224), the Ismaili ruler of Quhistān. The earliest historical event indicated in his *Dīwān* is the assassination of Atābak Qizil Aarsalān b. Ildgiz, the ruler of Azerbaijan in 587/1191, where he mentions the names of the three "*fidā'īs*" who successfully fulfilled their mission and safely returned to their headquarters in Quhistān.³⁵⁷ In this poem, he refers to the event as something recent (*bi tāzagī*), which shows he wrote this poem not long after the event happened, and it means that by this time he must have been sufficiently mature to be able to write poetry in commemoration of such event. Therefore, we can assume that at 587/1191 he must have been over twenty.

There are also some poems in his *Dīwān* with introductory notes which are in some cases dated. A number of these poems carry the date of 638/1240 which suggests he has been alive until 638 / 1240. Apart from this, in the colophon of a manuscript of *Taşawwurāt*, Ṭūsī writes that he studied this book in the presence of Ṣalāḥ al-Dawla wa al-Dīn Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, "the compiler (*jāmi'*) of the book" in 640 / 1243.³⁵⁸ In one of his poems in the *Dīwān* which due to its importance I will discuss it in detail later, he refers to the assassination of the "Qā'ān", the Mongol Emperor, at the hands of a Nizārī *fidā'ī*. According to other historical accounts such

³⁵⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1387/2008, p. 151.

³⁵⁵ Kāshānī, 1366/1987, p. 198.

³⁵⁶ Ṭūsī, 1999, p. 6.

³⁵⁷ This poem has been translated and published with an introduction by W. Ivanow in *JBBRAS*, NS. 14, (1938): pp. 63-73.

³⁵⁸ Ṭūsī, 2005, p. 211.

that in *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, this should be a reference to the death of Guyūk, the third Mongol Emperor who died in 646/1248. If we take this account accurate, then we should assume that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd died after 646/1247. Based on all these pieces of evidence, we can conclude that he was probably born few years after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in 559/1164, and died few years after 646/1248.

In Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's other works, we come across some indications that prove the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* was not his first book of poetry. Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd had another work called *Haft bāb* which was originally the introduction to his earlier *Dīwān* and was wrongly attributed to Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ. In the last chapter of this work, Ḥasan writes that "from the beginning of this 'blessed reappearance' [Qiyāma] to the completion time of this *Dīwān* almost forty years have passed".³⁵⁹ This proves that the *Haft bāb* was the introduction to his first *Dīwān*. Recently, two new copies of this work have been discovered that add more information to what we already know. In one of these copies, the exact date of the completion of *Haft bāb*, or his first *Dīwān*, is recorded as 595/1198. In another newly discovered copy, we read: "I have started the second *Dīwān* which is going to be around five thousand verses (*bayt*). If the light of the Divine grace shines on me and life remains loyal to me I will finish that *Dīwān*."³⁶⁰ This means that at 595/1198, he had finished his first *Dīwān*, and has already started on the second one. We do not know what happened to these two *Dīwān* since they have not survived. The *Dīwān* which has reached our time and has been published is comprised of Ḥasan's poetry written during the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad from 618/1221 to 646/1248, which proves it cannot be either of the above two mentioned in the introduction of *Haft bāb*. Furthermore, there are poems in the second volume of the *Dīwān* which refer to events after 631/1233, which was when the work was completed and offered to 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. This proves that the second volume was in fact a different work started after the completing of the first volume. The existence of poems such as the one referring to the assassination of Ildgiz (587/1191) and other poems by other poets could be an indication that the second volume was completed after Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's life by other individuals at present unknown.

According to all these facts, it would seem that the available *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* which is in two volumes is in fact a combination of the two final *Dīwāns* of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, and the first two

³⁵⁹ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 1352/1933, p. 41.

³⁶⁰ "بنده دیوان دویم آغاز کرده است هم پنج هزار بیتى خواهد بود اگر آفتاب توفیق الهی بر سر این بنده تابد و عمر وفا کند بنده خود آن دیوان را تمام کند." MS 32, f. 81a.

Dīwāns have been somehow lost. This fact is in accordance with the general belief of the Ismaili community in Quhistān who believe that the actual *Dīwān* consisted of seven volumes.

7.1 Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's Origins

In regard to Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd origins there are also some ambiguities. Both Bīrjand and Alamūt have been recorded as his place of origin.³⁶¹ There are indications in different sources that show that he lived in different localities at different times. The first indication from his own writings shows that he had been living for some time in Quhistān. His references to Muḥtasham Shihāb as the “*dāʿī*” in his *Dīwān* show that he was in his service.³⁶² Muḥtasham Shihāb was the Ismaili governor of Quhistān who was succeeded by Muḥtasham Shams al-Dīn in 621 / 1224.³⁶³ In his autobiography *Sayr wa sulūk*, Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī writes that he got a letter from Shihāb al-Dīn containing the answers to his questions in Ḥasan-i Ṣalāḥ-i Munshī's handwriting, when they were in the fortress of Girdkūh near Dāmghān.³⁶⁴ Ṭūsī's letter was written before he joined the Ismaili castles in Quhistān.³⁶⁵ This indicates that at this particular time Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd was not in Quhistān. However, his poem on the commemoration of the three *fidāʿīs* who killed Ildgiz shows that at the time of that event he was in Quhistān, as the details that he provides about the mission such as the identities of the *fidāʿīs* and the commander of the mission, Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar (Raʿīs Muẓaffar) who was the governor of Quhistān at that time, show that he had detailed information about the region and the Ismaili community there.³⁶⁶ For these reasons, some sources have argued that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd was originally from Quhistān.³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, there are some features in his writings like the use of “ها” before the verbs that belong to the dialect of Rūdbār and Daylam and could be a proof that he was originally from these areas.³⁶⁸ There are other

³⁶¹ Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī has mentioned him in his *Tadhkira-yi haft iqlīm* as Raʿīs Ḥasan Ṣalāḥ Bīrjandī, and quotes few lines of poetry from his *Dīwān*, but he does not give much details about his life. P. 324-325.

³⁶² “تعلیم داعی تو شهاب است این سخن / کامد ز گنج ناطقه در سلک انتظام.” *Diwan-i qāʿimiyāt*, 2011, p. 274.

³⁶³ Jawzjānī, 1363/1984, V. 2, p. 183.

³⁶⁴ Ṭūsī, 1999, p. 6.

³⁶⁵ We are not sure if Muḥtasham Shahāb was on a mission at Girdkūh in this time or if he had not yet been appointed as the Muḥtasham of Quhistān.

³⁶⁶ *Dīwān-i qāʿimiyāt*, 2011, p. 206.

³⁶⁷ Āyatī, 1371/1992, p. 227.

³⁶⁸ See Ḥasan ʿAlā Dhikrihi al-Salām's *Fuṣūl* and his language, p. 11.

references that suggest he lived in Quhistān at least for some period of time. For example, in the introduction of poem no. 99 he talks about a journey that he embarked on from “Sartakht” castle in Quhistān to Alamūt which was not successful and he had to return back.³⁶⁹ There is another poem addressed to the Imām at Alamūt in which he clearly states that he has recently come from Khurāsān.³⁷⁰

7.2 Transfer to Alamūt

According to the information in his *Dīwān*, it seems that sometime around 631/1233 he moved to Alamūt, probably in the accompany of Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtasham. The reason for this is that there are two *qaṣīdas* which are dated 631/1233. One of them is written on the occasion of meeting ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (d.653/1255) which must have happened after his transfer to Alamūt. The poem begins with the following line:

“My wish was fulfilled when I reached the presence of the exalted one (*a’lā*), and I could prostrate at the feet of Our Lord (*mawlānā*)”³⁷¹

The other poem is written on the occasion of meeting the heir-apparent, Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh (d. 655/1257), and in the introduction of the poem he writes: “This [act of] obedience³⁷² was composed on the auspicious occasion of prostrating at the sacred feet of the heir-apparent (*walī-yi ‘ahd*) of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan...”³⁷³ According to these information, the

³⁶⁹ *Dīwān-i qā’imīyyāt*, p. 273.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³⁷¹ *Diwan-i qā’imiyāt*, 2011, pp. 58-59. In the introduction of the poem he writes:

“این عبودیت به وقت رسیدن به حضرت مقدس ممجد معظم والا خداوند کونین و عالمین صاحب الزمان و ترجمان الرحمان محمد ابن حسن بن محمد بن حسن علی ذکره السلام علت کلمته و عمت رحمته استعداد به آن سعادت لایزال گفته شد، فی جمادی الآخر سنه احدى و ثلثین و ست مائه.”

³⁷² Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd usually refers to his poems as “بندگی” or “عبودیت” which shows that he considered his work as a kind of worship.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 345. The poem begins as:

گشاده شده در رحمت در آسمان و زمین / ز سایه نظر پادشاه یوم الدین...
بیافتم شرف پایبوس فرزندش / نگار چشم امامت در آسمان و زمین
خور هدایت دین نجل معنویش حسن / که اضطراب جهان را از او بود تسکین

transfer of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd from Quhistān to Alamūt should have happened in 631/1233, which could be the same year when Ṭūsī was transferred to Alamūt.³⁷⁴

There has been much controversy about Ṭūsī's transfer from Quhistān to Alamūt, since this incident has been interpreted as a sign of the imprisonment of him by the Nizārīs. The most popular story which the Ithnā'asharī scholars mention as reasons for transferring Ṭūsī from Quhistān to Alamūt is a letter that they believe Ṭūsī wrote to Ibn 'Alghamī, the Abbasid vizier which expresses his interest in joining the Abbasids in Baghdad. Upon the disclosure of this incident, he was summoned to Alamūt and imprisoned.³⁷⁵ The story cannot be true as Ibn 'Alghamī was appointed to his position as the vizier in 640/1242, after Ṭūsī's transfer to Alamūt. However, it shows that there were some issues behind the transfer of Ṭūsī, as well as Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtasham, to Alamūt. This idea is supported by a poem in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* which was written on this very occasion. The exact reason is not overtly stated, but references to the dissatisfaction of the "jamaat" or the Ismaili community and asking for their forgiveness suggests that the transfer could be the result of a complaint by the Ismaili community in Quhistān. In this poem, it is clearly stated that he wrote it upon arrival from Khurāsān as a sign of repentance for some actions in the past:

"O, Sacred one, we have arrived at your door from Khurāsān, we have come to your service for the prostration of obedience,

It is the time of victory, conquest and being thankful to you, for this, we have come to the centre of victory and conquest,

You are aware that by this service at this time, we have not come for gold, property or position,

Yes, by the unlimited power of your spiritual support, we have come for *jihād* and martyrdom,

³⁷⁴ It seems that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd had once embarked on a journey to go to the Imām's court in Alamūt before this final one, however, for some reason that is not known to us, this journey was not completed. This is based on the information that he provides in the introduction of the poem No. 99 where he refers to a journey which began from Sartakht, but as he explains: "it was not completed for bad luck". He also refers to the "hardships of life" that happened during this journey. In the body of the poem there is an indication which suggests his journey was interrupted by "traps" (*dām*) on the way, probably by the Nizārīs' enemies. This trip must have taken place before 621 /1224, when Muḥtasham Shihāb was the Chief *dā'ī* of Quhistān, as his name is mentioned in the poem. See pp. 273-275.

³⁷⁵ Modarris Raḍawī, 1975, p. 10.

Although by negligence and endless mistakes, our souls are marked by wrong doings,

By your kindness, the souls of the thirsty will be satisfied, we have brought repentance to the bank of this fortune [river],

Because of our blighted deeds – we swear by Your glory – we have come in endless embarrassment,

To cut the story short, if we have not gained the satisfaction of the community,

And there is not the unison and purity that should be- on the basis of the *da'wa* law-,

Have mercy on us, since we, the sinners, have come to the door of mercy with the same hope.”³⁷⁶

This poem is clearly a letter of apology which has been written at the completion of the journey from Khurāsān to Alamūt. He is expressing regret for his endless negligence “*ghiflat*”, mistakes “*khaṭā*” and blighted deeds “*kardahāyi bad*”. Minhāj-i Sirāj who had himself visited Quhistān three times during the governorship of Muḥtasham Shihāb and Muḥtasham Shams al-Dīn in 621/1224 and 623/1226, in his *Ṭabaqāt-i nāṣirī* refers to certain complains made by the Nizārī community of Quhistān to Alamūt which resulted in referral of Muḥtasham Shihāb to Alamūt and his replacement by Muḥtasham Shams al-Dīn. According to him, the reason for these complains was Muḥtasham’s generosity towards the non-Ismaili scholars who took refuge in Quhistān in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion. He writes:

“Since Muḥtasham’s favour and companionship with the Muslims increased, the community of the *mulḥids* conveyed stories to Alamūt, saying Muḥtasham Shihāb is going to offer almost all the resources of the *da'watkhāna* to the Muslims. An order came from Alamūt that he should go to Alamūt, and Muḥtasham Shams al-Dīn Ḥasan was sent to Quhistān”³⁷⁷

In conclusion, it is likely that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, alongside Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtasham the governor and Khwāja Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī, were summoned to Alamūt from Quhistān on the basis of the complaints brought forward by the Nizārī community against Muḥtasham. This idea is

³⁷⁶ *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, p. 306-307.

³⁷⁷ *Ṭabaqāt*, 1984, Vol. 2, p. 183.

supported not only by certain references in historical sources about Ṭūsī's life and his referral to Alamūt,³⁷⁸ but also by references in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* where indicates regrets over certain deeds during Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's life in Quhistān, which did not bear the satisfaction of the Nizārī community. Nevertheless, it does not mean that these people were imprisoned after the referral. As a matter of fact, all of them continued their professional life after that; Ṭūsī became an influential scholar and courtier and later the vizier of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥtasham was reappointed as the Muḥtasham of Quhistān,³⁷⁹ and Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd continued his profession as a poet and writer at the Nizārī headquarters.

7.3 References to 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and the Qiyāma Declaration

There are many references to 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (Ḥasan II) in Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's *Dīwān*. Although we know he could not have been alive during his era, the references are made in such way that sometimes gives the impression that he met Ḥasan II and experienced the Qiyāma Proclamation himself. There are six *qaṣīdas* in the *Dīwān* that bear the honorific title of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām at the end of each line as a *radīf*.³⁸⁰ For example, in one of these *qaṣīdas*, he says:

“Gratitude to God, since His bounty, made us reach the time of 'Alā Dhikrihi Salām,

The people of guidance who have always been in all cycles disciples of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām,

³⁷⁸ Modarris Raḍawī, Muḥammad Taqī, *Aḥwāl wa Āthār-i Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭūsī*, Tehran, 1354/1975, p. 7.

³⁷⁹ Daftary, 2007, p. 393.

³⁸⁰ These *qaṣīdas* are the following: No. 101:

نجل بزرگوار علی ذکره السلام / برخاست هم به کار علی ذکره السلام

No. 102:

رخشان شد آفتاب علی ذکره السلام / از مشرق ثواب علی ذکره السلام

No. 103:

بنشست تاج آل علی ذکره السلام / بر تخت لایزال علی ذکره السلام

No. 104:

ساقی بیار جام علی ذکره السلام / وانگه بگو به نام علی ذکره السلام

No. 105:

فرزند کامران علی ذکره السلام / بنشست در مکان علی ذکره السلام

No. 106:

فرزند مجتبای علی ذکره السلام / بنشست هم به جای علی ذکره السلام

Now, they have reached and still are reaching their desires, in the gracious time of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām,

Generosity and grace rains down in the world, from the life-giving clouds of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām,

Let’s rise and go to his prostration, since today is the audience day (*bār*) of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām”³⁸¹

Although, it seems that he wrote the poem in honour of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, the grandson of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, using adverbs such as “now” (اکنون) and “today” (امروز) in his references to the “time” (عصر) of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām could be an allusion to the fact that he lived in the time of the Qiyāma. However, this seems highly improbable as it would require the assumption he was a mature poet at the time when the Qiyāma was declared by Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām in 559/1164. The poems on the commemoration of the succession to ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām should also be interpreted in the same context.³⁸² References to Muḥammad b. ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām in these poems in fact refer to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his successors.³⁸³ As the information in the introduction to his first *Dīwān* (*Haft bāb*) confirms that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd experienced A’lā Muḥammad’s reign which was from 561/1166 to 607/1210, the longest term of power among the Nizārī Imāms of Alamūt, but probably not as early as the time of his succession. The only option which remains for the justification of these remarks would be the idea that what Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd meant by referring to his own time as the time of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām is that he believed he was living in the era of the Qiyāma which was initiated by ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and that it lasted after

³⁸¹ *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt*, pp. 276 – 277.

³⁸² These are the following *qaṣīdas*:

No. 101, p. 276:

نجل بزرگوار علی ذکره السلام / برخاست هم به کار علی ذکره السلام

No. 103, p. 278:

بنشست تاج آل علی ذکره السلام / بر تخت لایزال علی ذکره السلام

No. 105, p. 280:

فرزند کامکار علی ذکره السلام / بنشست در مکان علی ذکره السلام

No. 106, p. 281:

فرزند مجتبیای علی ذکره السلام / بنشست هم به جای علی ذکره اسلام

³⁸³ Another reason for this suggestion is poem No. 100 which was written on the occasion of the completion of the Castle of Tūn in 628 / 1231, and records the name of the Imām of the time as “Muḥammad ibn ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām”: مولا محمد ابن علی ذکره السلام , در عهد آنکه هست به حق مقتدی الانام / whereas he was actually “Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan.

the latter's death. This is in line with what J. Badakhchani argues in his introduction to the *Dīwān* where he discusses the use of “we saw” (بديديم) for referring to ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām.³⁸⁴ Considering the position of the *qā'im* and his role in beginning the era of the Qiyāma according to the Ismaili theology, the poet's concept can appear understandable. We should not forget that these poems were written after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan who ended the era of the Qiyāma. Therefore, by the beginning of ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad's reign in 618/1221, the perception was that the era of the Qiyāma was re-installed as before.

The Imām who is referred to on numerous occasions and praised to the level of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām in the *Dīwān* is Muḥammad. Two of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's successors were called Muḥammad. The problem which arises in this *Dīwān* is that sometimes we do not know exactly which one of these Imāms he is referring to; particularly when he does not give any other clues to identify them. This issue sometimes makes it hard to identify his references and information about different incidents which happened at a particular time. The issue becomes even more confusing when we remember that both Imāms were “Muḥammad b. Ḥasan”, since A'lā Muḥammad was Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's son, and ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad was Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's son. For example, in the following poem he says:

“Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the one by the light of whose blessing, the eyes of reason and the soul will always be given vision.”³⁸⁵

Or in another place he says:

“Let his soul be blessed in this era, someone who is firmly determined and prepared,

The name of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the Lord of the time, becomes the mark of his memory and forehead.”³⁸⁶

In both cases, there is no indication as to which of these Imāms he is referring. However, in some other cases there are indications which show he wrote them on the occasion of meeting

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 107 (Editor's Introduction).

³⁸⁵ *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, 2011, p. 53.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 190.

his Imām, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām, as it is recorded in his introduction to the following poem:

“My wish was fulfilled when I reached in present of the exalted one (a’lā)

And I could prostrate at the feet of Mawlānā;

[who is] the glory of the Prophet’s (yāsīn) progeny, [and] has Destiny at his command.”³⁸⁷

In two other cases, he mentions the name of Muḥammad as the Qā’im and the Imām of the time alongside the name of Quṭb al-Dīn Muẓaffar (d. after 587/1191), who was appointed as the chief *dā’ī* and Muḥtasham of Quhistān in 555/1160.³⁸⁸ We know this *dā’ī* was in the service of A’lā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. In *qaṣīda* No. 90, he is mentioned as the “*dā’ī-yi da’wat*” after references to Muḥammad as the “*Qā’im-i a’ẓam*” and “*dāvar-i kullī*”:

“The Grand Qā’im and the Lord of the world, of whom the world begs for forgiveness today,

The *dāvar-i kullī* of all the cycles, Muḥammad, who rules the Verses and the Traditions today...,

[He ordered] His *dā’ī* of the mission, the pillar of reason, Quṭb al-Dīn, who reveals the secrets on the earth today...,

So that he opens the treasures of speech and pours the royal pearls on the head of the spiritual world today....”³⁸⁹

These poems show that the status and the position of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām in the Nizārī Ismaili tradition had not changed decades after his death, and his legacy and memory was celebrated during the reign of his successors long after the Proclamation of the Qiyāma in 559/1164.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 58-59. See footnote no. 363.

Some of the introductions at the beginning of the poems which give some information about the reason and occasion of the composition of the poem contain a date. However, the dates are sometimes confusing and indicate the date of the final edition. In this particular case, there should not be much difference between the time of final edition and the occasion as it shows the earliest time that the meeting could have happened.

³⁸⁸ Daftary, 2007, 359. This Quṭb al-Dīn should be the same person who dispatched the three *fidā’īs* to eliminate Ildgiz under the instructions of A’lā’ Muḥammad, as the story is recorded in No. 75 *qaṣīda* of the *Dīwān*.

³⁸⁹ *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt*, pp. 252-253.

7.4 No mention of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (*Naw-Musalmān*)

We know that almost for certain that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd was in the service of the Nizārī officials from the early stages of his professional life. According to the evidence provided above, he served two Imāms; A'ālā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (d. 607/1210) and 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 653/1255). However, there is no mention of the Imām Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan known as *Naw-Musalmān* who reigned after A'ālā Muḥammad and before 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad in his *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*. It seems very unusual that we cannot even find one poem in his *Dīwān* in commemoration of this Nizārī Imām's reign, which lasted for 11 years (607-608/1210-1221). Considering the legacy of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan in ending the Qiyāma era, it is possible that his anti-Qiyāma policy could be the reason for such lack of attention by our poet. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan abandoned the Qiyāma practice upon his accession to in 607/1210 and began a more conservative policy based on the teachings of the Sunnī Islam which was acknowledged by the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad, and for this reason he was called *Naw-Musalmān* (new Muslim).³⁹⁰ We also know that he was quite harsh in maintaining the new policy since he invited the Sunnī 'ulamā of Qazwīn to go to Alamūt and he burned all the books related to the Qiyāma era (*ilhād* as stated by Juwaynī) in the library.³⁹¹ For somebody like Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd who had devoted his life to the Qiyāma cause and wrote poetry celebrating this idea, it must have been very hard to witness all these changes and book burnings. Furthermore, his main goal in this *Dīwān* is the celebration of the doctrine of the Qiyāma, as he states in his introduction.³⁹² It would have been very useful to see at least one *qaṣīda* describing the situation during the time of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan from his point of view, so we could understand how the *taqiyya* policy of this Imām was received by zealous followers of the Qiyāma like Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd and also by the Nizārī community in general.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ Daftary, 2007, p. 375.

³⁹¹ Juwaynī, 1937, Vol 3, p. 244.

³⁹² *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, 2011, p. 3.

³⁹³ There is one *qaṣīda* in the *Dīwān* (No. 50, 152) which commemorates the beginning of the reign of Ḥasan. We are not quite sure whom he means by "Ḥasan"; whether he means Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām or Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan. It is difficult to imagine he wrote this poem on the occasion of the succession of the former, as Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd probably had not been born yet or would have been too young to write poetry on the occasion. The only option remaining is that he wrote it on the occasion of the succession of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan. The ideas within this poem, which was completely in line with the Qiyāma tradition, suggest that this poem was probably written when the new changes had not as yet been introduced. The poem begins thus:

نوروز جهان عالم احسان حسن آمد / اقبال نهان قبله ایمان حسن آمد.

7.5 Historical values of *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*

Although the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* was written in celebration of the era of the Qiyāma, there is also information about certain historical events in this work that can not be found in other sources. Some of this information could even be relevant to other areas of historiography beyond the history of the Nizārī Ismailis. For example, in the case of Atābak Qizil Arsalān b. Ildgiz's death in 587/1191 the information presented in the work of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd provides more clarity to this incident and completes the puzzle which historians left unresolved.

In his poem, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd mentions the name and the origin of the *fidā'īs* who accomplished their mission so that not only their act is celebrated, but also their names are remembered:

“Recently, three brave young men did what the people of vision get credit for!

One is Ḥisām from Ābīz of Zīrkūh, by whom celebration and joy reaches to heaven,

The second is a son of Mihzangīs of Tūn, the celebrated Abū al-Ḥasan, the master of the virtuous,

The third is a unique Maṣṣūr from Chāhak, whose victory eagle preyed the enemies' soul,

Through the hand and the dagger of each one of them, the heavens decorated the world by victory light,

By the support and the strength of the Lord of the time, Muḥammad, on whom the earth and the Heavens rely,

Listen to me now, so that I may tell you a story as priceless as royal pearls,

When Ildgiz, by evil fate and misery chose arrogance instead of obedience,

The Lord of the eternal land ordered his vizier and *dā'ī* to deal with this deceitful one,

The orbit of the world of fate, the axis (*quṭb*) of state and religion, Muḥaffar b. Muḥammad, the unique one in the cycles,

Dispatched all the three from the centre to the task, upon the order of the Imām, and the task was accomplished,

All three left and the dagger of hatred was sheathed in the throat and the chest of that wicked....³⁹⁴

The only sources that discussed the death of Atābak Ildgiz are the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān* of Ibn Isfandiyār (7th / 13th) and *Tārīkh-i guzīda* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 750/1349). According to their accounts, after few confrontations with Ṭughrul, the Seljuk Sulṭān, the Atābak managed to defeat him and imprison him in a castle in Azerbaijan. Qutayba Khātūn who was the widow of the Atābak's brother and was now married to the Atābak was not happy with him. Therefore, the night before the Atābak announced his succession to Ṭughrul, Qutayba Khātūn admitted four men into his bedroom and they killed him there. She accused the Ismaili *fidā'īs* of killing him.³⁹⁵ Ibn Isfandiyār questioned the involvement of the *fidā'īs* in this incident, and accused Qutayba Khātūn of orchestrating the plot against his husband. However, the confirmation of Ḥasan in the *Dīwān* confirms the first version. We do not know why the Nizārīs decided at that particular time to side with the Seljuk Sulṭān and kill the Atābak Ildgiz. They might have seen a transition of power from the Seljuks to the Atābak of Azerbaijan as against their interests, and by assassinating him they tried to change the course of the events into something more favourable to themselves.

Although there is a degree of exaggeration in his narrative as it is in the form of poetry for an ideological cause, the mere reference to these events in the *Dīwān* can be seen as instrumental in determining what was the course of events in this period, at least from the Ismailis' point of view. As compared to other poetry collections, we should acknowledge that *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* is unique in presenting introductions for many of its important poems which gives us valuable information about the reasons for and timing of composing the poem. From this point of view, this book bears a considerable significance in portraying the historical context of the Qiyāma era and the particular meaning that this doctrine gave to different historical events of this period in the eyes of a zealous believer like Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd.

³⁹⁴ *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, pp. 205-207.

³⁹⁵ Ibn Isfandiyār, 1320, Vol. 2, p. 153. See also *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 1362 / 1983, p. 467.

7.6 Qiyāma in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*

Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's *Dīwān* contains many details about the idea of the Qiyāma and the way his understanding of the concept influenced his political and theological outlook. His understanding and presentation of the Qiyāma era is in a way close to popular Nizārī beliefs, and from this perspective it gives us some information about the perception of this era among ordinary Ismailis. This section will explain how Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd projected his understanding of the Qiyāma era in the context of events unfolding around the Nizārī state of Alamūt. Ḥasan's information in the *Dīwān* is quite unique as it shows us how this concept was perceived by the Nizārīs after few decades of fluctuation between the Qiyāma and the Sharī'a eras; from the time of A'lā' Muḥammad to the termination of the Qiyāma during the time of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, and finally its re-inauguration during the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad.

One of the most repeated notions in this *Dīwān* is the well-established Ismaili notion of the six cycles of the Sharī'a, which will be completed by the Qiyāma as the seventh cycle. Ḥasan believes that this was the main message of all the prophets to people through the ages:

“The prophets who were guiding people to the everlasting world by God's order,

Have said that the rule (*ḥukm*) of the Qiyāma is the absolute necessity (*wujūb*), and the periods of the Sharī'a cycles are as possibilities (*mumkināt*),

When the time of the Sharī'a is over, then the homogeneous (*mushābihāt*) will change into heterogeneous! (*mubā'ināt*)

And the principles of the Sharī'a will find accomplishment in the eternal rules of the Qiyāma.”³⁹⁶

396

پیغمبران که در ره فرمان ایزدی / بودند خلق را به سرای بقا هدایت
گفتند هست حکم قیامت وجوب محض / و ادوار دایرات شرایع چو مکنات
چون بگذرد زمان شریعت از آن قبل / گردد مشابهاات بدل با مباینات
پیدا شود ز عالم احکام سرمدی / ارکان شرع را به قیامت متممات

Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt, pp. 112-113.

In another place, he repeats the same idea by referring to a Qur'anic verse which describes the Qiyāma as the folding of the Heavens:

“It is said that when the cycle of the Sharī'a ends, the Qā'im will accomplish it according to his rank,

As books are folded, he will likewise fold the Earth and the Heaven.”³⁹⁷

In another poem, he compares the Sharī'a to a lantern whose light is assimilated into the light the sun of the Qiyāma:

“It is said when the cycles of the *shar'* signify the banners of its ultimate completion,

The lantern light of that night, cycle and period, will fade away in the light of the Qiyāma sun,

It is as if the flags of the day of '*ashraquat al-arḍ*' enlighten the face of the world”³⁹⁸

The last line of this poem is a clear reference to a verse in the Qur'an which explains the details of the time of the Qiyāma when the Trumpet (*ṣūr*) blasts and all the people die and then rise up again:

“And the Trumpet will be blown, and whoever is in the Heavens and whoever is on the earth will fall dead except whom Allah wills. Then it will be blown again, and at once they will be standing, looking on. And the earth will shine with the light of its Lord, and the record [of

397

گفتند چون مدار شریعت رسد به سر / قائم به حکم مرتبه اکمال آن کند
مانند آن که طی سجل کتب کنند / او طی طول ارض و سما همچنان کند

Ibid., p. 182. The second line is a reference to the below Qur'ānic verse:

“The Day when We will fold the heaven like the folding of a [written] sheet for the records. As We began the first creation, We will repeat it. [That is] a promise binding upon Us. Indeed, We will do it.” (*al-Anbiya*:104)

398

گفتند چون دوائر ادوار شرع را / عین کمال را علم داستان شود
نور چراغ آن شب و آن دور و آن زمان / در نور آفتاب قیامت نهان شود
رایات روز اشرفیت الارض بر ملا / روشن کننده عرصات جهان شود

Ibid., pp. 188-189.

deeds] will be placed, and the prophets and the witnesses will be brought, and it will be judged between them in truth, and they will not be wronged.” (68-69:39)

The descriptions of the Qiyāma and the Qur’anic quotations in the *Dīwān* are clearly influences from ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām writings that could be noticed in the letter to Kiyā Shāh. In that letter also the Qā’im was defined as the person who blasts the Trumpet (*ṣūr*) and makes the dead rise from their graves: “As at the beginning of this Call (*da‘wat*) of the Qā’im, Sayyidnā who is the blower (*nāfikh*) of the Qiyāma Trumpet took the lives of all creatures on earth and in the Heavens, by this blowing (*naḥkh*) the Qā’im made those who are dead to rise from the graves of ignorance.”³⁹⁹ Similarly, our poet in his praise of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad as “*ṣāhib-zaman*” describes him as somebody who has given life to the bodies of the dead:

“The *Ṣāhib-zaman* of the Seat of Daylam made the world shine by his miraculous light,

The Lord of the Faith blew His soul into the corpse of this dead world.”⁴⁰⁰

There are descriptions of the qualities of the Qā’im in the *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt* that we do not find in other sources. He refers to three qualities, of “*qiyām*” (rising), “*ba‘th*” (resurrection) and “*thawāb*” (reward), that the Qā’im enjoys. In one of the poems that he wrote on the “grace of the Imām”, he refers to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad by name as the Qā’im and he writes:

“He has three powers; “*qiyām*”, “*ba‘th*” and “*thawāb*”. These three alone are enough for people to acknowledge [him],

He upheld *ba‘th* and *thawāb* and whoever is doubtful, this darkness [of doubt] itself is enough for his eyes,

³⁹⁹ MS T, p. 6.
⁴⁰⁰

افکنده بر بسیط جهان نور
معجزات

روحی دمیده در تن این عالم
موات

صاحب زمان کرسی ديلم به فرخی

دارای دین که از نظر روح بخش
اوست

Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt, p. 112.

His auspicious rise (*qiyām*) [by the *Qiyāma*] is enough reason for his resurrection (*ba‘th*) and rewarding (*thawāb*) of the people in the world.”⁴⁰¹

In another poem he writes:

“The commander of “*qiyām*”, “*thawāb*” and “*ba‘th*” will guide us from the plights to Salvation.”⁴⁰²

These three terms are repeated together in many other places throughout the *Dīwān*. Although these terms are well known concepts in Islamic eschatology, it seems that there is a difference in their definition between that of the Sunnī Muslims and the Nizārīs.⁴⁰³ The *qiyām* is derived from the word *Qiyāma*, and means rising or standing up. In the Qur’an, it refers to a stage when people are resurrected from their graves and stand up on their feet (verse 68:39). Aḥmad Bayhaqī, an eleventh-century Shāfi‘ī scholar writes in his explanation of the above verse that “when Almighty God revives all people they stand up on their feet and look about.”⁴⁰⁴ In the Nizārī interpretation, the term *qiyām* is interpreted as the act of declaring *Qiyāma* in which the era of the Sharī‘a ends. Therefore, *qiyām* is one of the powers of the Qā‘im.

The *ba‘th* in Arabic has two different meanings and both are related in the context of our discussion. The first meaning is to dispatch somebody for a mission or a task. The second meaning is very close to the meaning of *qiyām* which is to rise or resurrect from the grave. This term has been used in both meanings in the Qur’an. For example, in the verse (103:7) where it says: “Then after them We sent (*ba‘athnā*) Moses with our signs”, which is used in the

401

همین سه موجب تصدیق خاص و عام بس است
به شک بود بصرش را خود این ظلام بس است
همین که کرد به فرخندگی قیام بس است

سه قوت است مراو را: قیام و بعث و ثواب
قیام کرد به بعث و ثواب هر که درین
دلیل بعث و نشان ثواب خلق جهان

Dīwān-i qā‘imiyyāt, pp. 98-100.

402

ما را ز مهلکات رساند به
منجیات

فرمان ده زمام قیام و ثواب و بعث

Dīwān-i qā‘imiyyāt, p. 113.

⁴⁰³ J. Badakhchani believes that these terms must have been topics of a treatise by Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī that is lost. However, he does not give any reason for his assumption. See the editor’s introduction to the *Dīwān*, p. hundred and eight (صد و هشت).

⁴⁰⁴ Bayhaqī, 1993, p. 62.

sense of dispatching someone on a mission. However, in the verse (56:2) it says: “Then We raised you up after your death: ye had the chance to be grateful”, which is used in the meaning of resurrection after death. This is the meaning intended in the *Dīwān* that is related to rather eschatological concept of the Qiyāma. The meaning of these three powers of the Qā'im according to Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is that the Qā'im by his declaration of the Qiyāma spiritually revives the dead and by freeing them from the chains of the obligations of the Sharī'a rewards them. Therefore, by declaring the Resurrection, he initiated the Qiyāma era as the ultimate salvation and therefore fulfilled all the expected capacities. This is why Ḥasan says in his poem that “the reason and the sign for the Qā'im's act of *ba'th* and *thawāb* is his declaration of the Qiyāma”.⁴⁰⁵

Apart from these concepts to which we cannot find any direct reference in the words of Ḥasan II, there is another concept that is related to him in the *Dīwān*, which projects another layer of Ḥasan's message and his interpretation of the Qiyāma. This concept concerns the promises (*wa'da-hā*) of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām which will be discussed next.

7.7 Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's Predictions (*wa'da-hā*)

We have considered the idea of rebirth by the Qiyāma and giving new life to the “dead world” in the second “*naḥkh*” (blowing) by the Qā'im as discussed in Ḥasan II's letter to Kiyāshāh. The only difference that we see between the words of Ḥasan II and Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is the scope of the world's rebirth. While Ḥasan II's words seem to refer to a spiritual rebirth in the world of religion, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's understanding of his words is not limited to the world of religion, and it extends to the political world as well. This particular interpretation of Ḥasan II's message is expressed in the *Dīwān* in the form of certain predictions or promises attributed to Ḥasan II.

One of the most important promises is of the political success of the *da'wa*, especially when he is referring to a particular victory over an enemy or significant historical achievement, it is interpreted in the Qiyāma context as if it was something promised by the Qā'im or 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām. It is not quite clear if Ḥasan II made such predictions and what exactly his

⁴⁰⁵ The same argument is repeated in another poem where he writes:

هر کو دلیل می طلبد بر ثواب و بعث / گو هان بین قیام علی ذکره السلام (p. 279)

predictions were, or how and when these predictions were supposed to be realized. However, in Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's writings we come across the phrase "wa'da-yi 'alā Dhikrihi al-Salām" in number of poems which refer to a certain geopolitical victory or achievement. The most famous example of this kind is the story of the three *fidā'īs* who were sent to eliminate Atābak Qizil Arsalān b. Ildgiz in 587 / 1191, which was discussed in an article by W. Ivanow:⁴⁰⁶

"Whoever thinks of opposition to the all-time Qā'im, the Heaven will take harsh revenge on him by taking his soul,

This has been the promise of the Chosen Prophets, and a warning given from early times,

Whoever considers the true promise false, in reality he is worse than the infidels."⁴⁰⁷

In any case, this victory was seen a sign of the fulfilment the promises of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām (the Qā'im).

In another *qaṣīda* which was written on the conquest of two important castles, Mihrīn and Maṣṣūr Kūh in the suburbs of Dāmghān, he repeats the same idea. This victory took place in 619 / 1222,⁴⁰⁸ a year after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and the end of the *taqiyya* policy by his successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, who is said to have reinstalled the era of the Qiyāma. It seems that this return to the old policy of the Qiyāma coincided with a military victory in their territory that gave people like Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd the impression that these victories were signs of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's promises which were going to be realized:

"Those promises that 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām proclaimed, at the beginning of the Qiyāma era, by trust,

It came true at the time of the powerful government of "Mawlānā", beyond the curtain of wish and anticipation's veil,

⁴⁰⁶ Ivanow, W., "An Ismaili poem in praise of Fidawis", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 14, (1938), pp. 63 -72.

⁴⁰⁷ *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, p. 207.

⁴⁰⁸ Daftary, 2007, p. 384.

Those who opposed that state and in their eyes of vision there was a thorn of disagreement,

Tell them to rise and open their eyes of reason to these pure miracles!

Surely by the sword of the King of Faith [the Imām] the conquest will extend from Qayrawān to Qandahār!”⁴⁰⁹

Another point which seems important in this poem is the allusion to those who did not believe in what the Qā'im had promised and who are asked to witness the “miracles” and remove the thorns of doubts from their eyes! We do not know exactly whom Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is referring to here, but we can be almost certain that these people belonged to the previous administration who might not even have been alive by then.⁴¹⁰

7.8 The Turmoil of the End of Time (*fitna-yi ākhir al-Zamān*)

Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd lived during the most turbulent period in the history of the Nizārī Ismailis. The most important episode of Nizārī history is their military engagement with the Mongols which finally ended in the destruction of their state and castles. As discussed earlier, the poetry of this *Dīwān* reflects the circumstances between 618/1221 to 640s/1240s. During this period, various regions in Persia witnessed confrontations between the Mongols and different local dynasties, including Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh who was trying to re-instate his rule over his disintegrated territory after the first wave of Mongol invasion in 607/1210. This period which lasted for over 30 years is understood as the *fitna-yi ākhir al-Zamān* (the turmoil of the end of time). *Fitna-yi ākhir al-Zamān* is considered to be the volatile period of the

⁴⁰⁹ He clearly gave the name of the Imām in charge:

دارای دین محمد آخر زمان که هست / از طینت مقدس مستنصر و نزار

The names of the castles are mentioned as well, though slightly different from the names in the introduction to the poem:

بسطام و قلعه‌اش که به تأیید ایزدی / سدّ سکندری است برآورده استوار

Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt, pp. 204-205.

⁴¹⁰ The reason is the use of past verb of “*būd*” (was) in the line “آن کس که بود منکر این حال” which shows he is referring to the past. The word “*khizīd*” (rise) also has a connotation in Persian that implies the addressee is dead now and he wished he could come back to life and could witness what he did not believe would happen.

emergence of the Qā'im or Mahdī in the Shī'ī tradition during which “Dajjāl” (Antichrist) fights against him and “Ya'jūj wa Ma'jūj” brings destruction.

The relationship between the Nizārīs and the Mongols went through various stages. They sometimes made peace with each other and sometimes confronted militarily.⁴¹¹ In this *Dīwān*, we come across accounts of both kinds of situations which can sometimes add new details to the information provided by our historians. One of these cases is *qaṣīda* No. 124 in which he describes an attack by the Mongols on the Nizārī strongholds in Quhistān and Alamūt. In line with the 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's prediction, after a short period of time the confrontation changed into a peaceful relationship. This *qaṣīda* is particularly important as not only does it provide substantial information about various military and political achievements of the Nizārīs, but also it gives some indication of the nature of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's predictions or promises which in Ḥasan Maḥmūd's understanding were realized. This poem has a long introduction in which he clearly lays out the occasion for writing the *qaṣīda* and the events that he saw as “*fitna*” and the invasion of “*ya'jūj wa ma'jūj*”. Due to the importance of the poem in the argument of this thesis and the information in this poem, I quote the entire poem here:

7.9 Poem No. 124

“O Lord Our God”

“This duty (*bandiqī*) was written following the sacred utterances of the Exalted [Lord], for the repeating and reminding of the tidings of this auspicious era (*'ahd*)-May God make it last forever- and its blessings, during which I mention some of the predictions that the Lord of the Truth (*ṣāhib al-ḥaqq*) 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām presented about the transformation of religions, transition of governments, forthcoming death, destruction of the world, the demise of the majority of humankind, and observing some of that in the demise and the destruction of the states of powerful Sulṭāns, kings, princes, dignitaries, ministers and so on, from different communities of the world at the hand of the armies of the king of Turkistān, known as Genghis Khān. [I also talk about] the state of safety in the territories under the rule of the Lord of the Time from invasion of the numberless Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj, and a summary about the wounds of the *fidā'īs*' dagger –May they be blessed- in taking care of the ruler of Khalkhāl and

⁴¹¹ See Daftary, 2007, p. 383.

Malik Iliyāj [the ruler of] Dāmghān and their animosity and aggression, and the conquest of the castles of Qaşrān.”

“The hands of fortune elevated the banners of this auspicious star of fate (*ṣāhib qarān*),

And the rain of victory poured down on the world by the cloud of blessing,

Wise is the one who enlightens his soul by “*khalq*” and “*amr*” like the sun in this time,

And makes a nest now in the glorious shadow of the Qā’im’s shelter for his reason and soul, like a bird,

And sacrifices his soul for the blessed name of Mawlānā Muḥammad in pure and full faith!

The one to whom the whole world passionately prostrates eternally,

The Lord whom the blessings of his rank have rejuvenated the good fortune of the world, upon accession to the throne of glory has said:

‘This blessed *da’wa* and the sword unmistakably will make the [lands] from China to Qayrawān obedient to its rule,

The end of all eras of the world is manifested, and the sign of the Grand Era’s beginning came to light,

A huge turmoil (*fitna*) will take place throughout the seven climes (*haft kishwar*), in such a way that few people will remain safe from its turbulence,

Many lands, properties and homes will be destroyed one-by-one by the will of God.’

Undoubtedly water is not purified before volatile fusion and merging,

It will be the beginning of the storm, when the turbulence reaches into the land of Māzandarān...,

In these happy days, undoubtedly his predictions turned from potential into real,

The arrow of destiny was released by the will of God, and cleared the world of the Devil-looking people (*dīw-chihra*),

The day of salvation showed its face in the Heavens to the people of the Truth, and the Caravan remained safe on that path,

By the Divine will and the Divine miracles, the path of salvation was lit up everywhere,

In the year twenty, when Destiny noticed that we have turned into sinners by not being thankful for this bounty,

It was angered and by the thunder of its wrath the turmoil of Genghis Khan put a flame on this land,

In the year twenty-one, since the good people had turned the face of obedience to the orders of the Lord of the time,

Destiny became kind and suddenly put the wrath away compassionately, and turned its affection to the faithful,

By God's grace, that offence and storm passed away from the lands of His Highness (*ḥaḍrat-i a'lā*) and Quhistān,

By Mawlā's blessing on the people of guidance, the pearls of divine victory (*naṣr-u min allāh*) poured down from the Heavens,

The castles of Qaṣrān, Sar-marz [?] and 'Irāq were captured; all of which are provinces of merit,

Since the governor of Khalkhāl was struck by bad luck, he mounted the horse of sin in hypocrisy,

The brave *fidā'īs*, the faithful servants coloured the earth with his blood,

The evil Iliyā^j,⁴¹² who used to insult the people of virtue in such a way that I cannot mention here,

⁴¹² This was probably Urkhān. He will be introduced later.

And his dark soul used to burn in jealousy, which was why the land of Dāmghān fell into our hands,

In this wish, he submitted his soul to the Angel of Death by the wound of the brave men's dagger, with all his army, glory and strength,

Well done to those fighters and bravo! Since they were prepared for such a sacrifice!

O you, the Lord of the world! What grace can be found which does not emanate from your generosity to the earth, religion, humankind and the soul?

May the light of Your grace be eternal, as it is by Your will that the existence of creation acquired elegance!"⁴¹³

⁴¹³ Here is the Persian text:

اللهم یا مولانا

«این بندگی در عبودیت مواقف مقدسه جلت عظمته و تکرار و تذکار و میامن این عهد همایون مدّه الله دائماً گفته شد و در اثنای آن ذکر بعضی وعده‌ها که صاحب الحق علی ذکره السلام داده است کرده آمد؛ از تغیر ملتها و انتقال دولتها و اقترب آجال و خرابی اقالیم جهان و هلاک بیشتر خلائق از نوع انسان و معاینه شدن بهری از آن به زوال دولت و فنای نوبت سلاطین کامران و ملوک و امرا و اکابر و سادات و وزرا و غیر ایشان از جمیع اصناف جهانیان بر دست لشگرهای پادشاه ترکستان المسمی به چنگیزخان و مسلم ماندن نواحی ممالک خداوند عالم صاحب الزمان از تعرض یاجوج و ماجوج بی‌پایان و نبذی از کرد فداییان علیهم الرأفه و الرضوان در دفع کفایت شرّ حاکم خلخال از جهد تعدی و عدوان و ملک ایلج از جهت ... دامغان و ضبط ... قلعه‌های قصران گفته شد.»

دست دولت برکشید اعلام این فرخ قران / قطر نصرت شد نثار از ابر رحمت بر جهان
عاقل آن باشد که در وقت چنین از خلق و امر / آفتاب‌آسا به نور دل برافروزد روان
سازد اکنون از همایون ظل چتر قائمی / طایر عقل و همای نفس خود را آشیان
از صفای اعتقاد و غایت ایمان کند / بر مبارک نام مولانا محمد جان فشان
گفته است آن کس که کل کائنات از راه شوق / طایعاً دارند سر بر سجده او جاودان
آن خداوندی که تا بنشست بر تخت جلال / بخت عالم شد به فرّ قدرش از نوسر جوان
کین مبارک دعوت و شمشیر بی‌هیچ اشتباه / انقیاد زیر حکم آرد ز چین تا قیروان
منتهای کل ادوار جهان گشت آشکار / و ابتدای دور اعظم را پدید آمد نشان
فتنه‌ای برخیزد اندر هفت کشور بس عظیم / آن چنان کز کرد و وردش کم کسی باید امان
ملکها و مالها و خانه‌های بی‌شمار / یک به یک زیرو زبر گردد به حکم غیب دان
آب تا در هم نیاشوبد به وقت امتزاج / گوهر او روشن و صافی نگردد بی گمان
مبدأ طوفان بود وقتی که افتد اضطراب / در امور خسروان ملکوت مازندران ...
وعده‌های او در این ایام فرخ بی‌خلاف / از محل قوت اندر حد فعل آمد عیان
تیر تقدیر از کمان امر باری بی‌حجاب / رفت و از دیوان مردم چهره خالی شد جهان
روز بازار هدایت اهل حق را رخ نمود / از نقاب غیب و ایمن شد بر آن ره کاروان
از نظرهای الهی از کرامتهای محض / خط پرگار سعادت شد عیان بر هر مکان
در سنه عشرین فلک ما پرگناهان را چو دید / گشته از کفران این نعمت به گوش دل گران
خشمگین شد وز نهیب خشم او با این دیار / بی‌محابا شعله‌ای زد فتنه چنگیزخان
در سنه احدی و عشرین یافت نیکان را به دل / روی طاعت کرده با امر خداوند زمان
با سر لطف آمد و یکباره از راه رضا / خشم یک سو کرد و بر احباب دین شد مهربان
درگذشت آن زحمت و طوفان به فضل ایزدی / از سواد حضرت اعلا و حد قهستان
از کمال فضل مولی بر سر اهل هدی / گوهر نصر من الله شد نثار از آسمان
قلعه‌های خطه قصران و سرحد و عراق / شد گشاده وان به خود سر هست ملک شایگان
حاکم خلخال را چون بخت بد بر روی زد / وز نفاق آورده اسب معصیت را زیر ران

As stated in the introduction, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd sees all the events mentioned in this poem as a clear affirmation of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām’s predictions, which were announced along with the Qiyāma Proclamation. These predictions include “transformation of religions, transfer of governments, peoples’ demise and destruction of the world’s regions”. The Mongol invasion is one of these, and at the particular time that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd was writing his poem, the Ismailis were in a better position as their lands were safe because of the peace agreed between Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan and Genghis Khan in 618/1221. On the other hand, the Khwārazm-Shāhs as the most powerful rivals of the Nizārīs were under immense pressure since Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn’s situation is not stable and he has to make many concessions to his rivals. There are different historical references within this poem which need to be clarified so Ḥasan’s interpretation of the events can be contextualized historically.

Clearly the chronological references in the poem, such as “the year twenty-one”, show that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd wrote this poem after 621 / 1224, in the early years of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s Imāma and the end of the “*taqiyya*” policy or “*satr*” era. These events took place when Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd was living in Quhistān and the Muḥtashams of Quhistān were in a strong position politically. Muḥtasham Shihāb and Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, the governors of Quhistān, were learned men whose policies had already attracted many scholars to their castles at this time. During this period, there had not been any attack by the Mongols against Quhistān itself, but the Mongol invasion of the neighbouring areas such as Sīstān, Hirāt and Nīshābūr, between 617/1220 and 619 / 1222 may have also affected some Ismaili areas.⁴¹⁴ The line referring to the events of 620 and the “*fitna*” of Genghis Khan could be a reference to these invasions.

شیر مردان فدایی بندگان معتقد / خاک را بستند از خورش خضاب ارغوان
 ایلپاج شوم کاندلر حق نیکان برگزاف / طعنه‌ها می‌زد که اینجا خوب ناید ذکر آن
 وز حسد می‌سوخت جان تیره او در بدن / تا چرا ما را میسر گشت ملک دامغان
 هم در این حسرت به زخم خنجر مردان مرد / با سپاه و شوکت و قوت به مالک داد جان
 آفرین بادا بر آن خنجرگذاران آفرین / کین چنین بستند هر یک جان‌سپاری را میان
 ای به حق دارای عالم چیست آن رحمت که نیست / فایض از جود تو اندر ملک و دین و انس و جان
 باد نور رحمت پاینده کز تأیید توست / یافته فرق وجود آفرینش طیلسان

Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt, pp. 327-331.

⁴¹⁴ Daftary, 2007, p. 384. See also *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 1314/1935, p. 395.

7.10 The Nizārīs' Relationship with the Mongols

As mentioned before, the relationship between the Nizārīs and the Mongols from the beginning was very complicated. They made peace on some occasions and on others both parties took more violent measures against each other. We have the record of both approaches by the Nizārīs in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* which again were explained in Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd's particular style of interpreting the post Qiyāma era. There are number of *qaṣīdas* in which Ḥasan talks about the Mongol invasions that took place under the command of Genghis Khān and the events after his death. The most important of them is *qaṣīda* No. 49 in which he claims the Qā'ān and Chagatai were killed by Ismaili *fidā'īs* sent from Alamūt. He gives a relatively detailed account of the Nizārīs' relationship with the Mongols from the time of Genghis Khān and their glorious kingdom when they made peace with the Nizārīs and the consequences they faced after their hostile actions. In this poem, Ḥasan refers to a number of issues between the Nizārīs and the Mongols throughout two decades, contextualizing all the events based on his understanding of the Qiyāma era:

“The respite of the Lord of religion ended, and the predictions of Mustanṣir and Nizār came true,

By the divine will, the turmoil of the Ākhir Zamān is approaching with the Tātār's army...,

The first Khān who was Genghis dealt with us in a good spirit, his banner waved high in sky, and he was victorious in every land...,

Then, he changed direction in his manner and inclined towards confrontation, in less than a year that Symbol of Scorn lost all his glory,

By the flames of the wrath of the Lord of the Qiyāma, his life was devastated,

The kingdom fell into the hands of the Qā'ān, who was on good terms from the beginning,

[Therefore] his name became prominent among all victorious kings,

Just when he thought evil and united with the devil, and broke the previous terms, and the lands of the “Truth” suffered by the passage of his army,

For cutting the substance of his life's length, the new moon rose up from the mount of might,

By the move of one pawn, the cry of check was heard beyond the blue sky,
 Before finishing the wine of animosity, his drunkenness joined with an unexpected death...,
 Well done to that servant who accomplished such a great triumph,
 On that moment, life kissed his hand, by which he captured such a prey like an eagle...,
 I give my life to him, who sacrificed his life and became a *fidā'ī*,
 The position of Chagatai, the brother of the second Genghis was taken and the task was accomplished,
 His heart felt the threat of *Dhulfiqār*⁴¹⁵ on his royal throne,
 [Therefore] willingly, he came to the sacred presence of our Lord in submission.”⁴¹⁶

There are several points in this poem which deserve to be studied closely:

1. Mongol invasion as the “*fitna-yi ākhir zamān*”
2. Divine punishment of the Nizārīs’ enemies
3. Peace with the Mongols
4. Assassination of the Qā’ān
5. Assassination of Chagatai, Genghis Khān’s elder son

1. The Mongol invasions as the “*Fitna-yi Ākhir-zamān*”

The account of Genghis, his successors and their relationship with the Ismailis is an important aspect of this *Dīwān*, particularly of this poem. The description of this relationship fits comfortably with the Ismaili propaganda as we see it in other Nizārī works.⁴¹⁷ The invasion of Genghis’s army is perceived as a sign of the Qiyāma and what ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām predicted.

⁴¹⁵ Dhulfiqār is the name of Imām ‘Alī’s sword.

⁴¹⁶ *Dīwān-i qā’imīyyāt*, pp. 150-152.

⁴¹⁷ See “‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s letter to ‘Imād al-Dīn Pahlawān”, in *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 1983, pp. 211-214.

In the Shīʿī context of the time, it was no great surprise to hear that the Mongol invasion was a sign of the end of the world and the emergence of the Qāʾim. It has been said that the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḥilla in Iraq, such as Sadīd al-Dīn Muṭahhar Ḥillī and Ibn Ṭāwūs went to visit Hulagu on his way to Baghdad and encouraged him to pursue his plan to overthrow the Abbasid Caliph. The reason was that they believed that the physical appearance of the Mongols corresponded with the descriptions attributed to Imām ʿAlī about the people who would overthrow the Banū ʿAbbās.⁴¹⁸ Here too, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd refers to the *Tātār* army as a sign of the “*fitna*” of “*ākhir al-zamān*”.

2. The Divine punishment of the Nizārīs’ enemies

The idea that anybody who approaches the Nizārīs with evil thoughts or tries to harm them will be miraculously punished was something that has been stressed in different places. It seems that this idea was a very useful piece of propaganda in a society which believed it had divine acknowledgment. For the same reason the Abbasids propagated a similar idea, that whoever tried to harm their Caliphate would be punished by God.⁴¹⁹ The idea is repeated in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s letter to ʿImād al-Dīn Pahlawān. After warning him for his hostile actions against the Nizārīs, he writes “whoever attacked our territories did not reach end of the year”.⁴²⁰

In another text called *Jangnāmah-yi Sīstān* which discusses Nizārī theological debates between the Ismailis of Quhistān and the ruler of Sīstān (*Malik-i Sīstān*), the same idea is reappeared. Here also hostile actions against the Nizārīs were sought to be discouraged because of the predictable miserable outcome for the ill-wishers. In a letter to the Malik of Sīstān, a certain ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn-i Naṣr advises him that “I thought it was necessary to write this letter in detail for

⁴¹⁸ Bayānī, 1370/1991, Vol. 2, p. 308.

⁴¹⁹ They usually referred to the fate of Yaʿqūb-i Layth and Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh who tried to overthrow the Abbasids as proof of this. For the same reason, after the conquest of Baghdad, Hulagu was warned that if Caliph’s blood fell on the earth, everyone would be swallowed by the earth. Therefore, it is said that he decided to roll a piece of cloth around the Caliph and run horses over him to be killed. Although this was a form of punishment that Mongols had for people of royal blood, the supporters of Abbasids understood it differently. See *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of Jawzjānī, Vol. 2, pp. 197–198.

⁴²⁰ هر که قصد دیار ما کرد سال به سر نبرد.

Ḥāfiz Abrū, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, 1987, p. 211.

you so that the king rethink his position on doing any harm to them [the Ismailis], since it is for a reason that all Muslims have stopped fighting them and act based on their wishes. The affairs of those people [the Ismailis] is not baseless.”⁴²¹ According to this text, the ideological debates and the above warnings in the court of Sīstān’s ruler convinced him to convert to Ismaili faith. All of these examples show that for the Nizārīs threatening their enemies with divine punishment was a major technique of propaganda which was emphasized in different occasions in their writings.

3. Peace with the Mongols

The peace arranged between the Nizārīs and the Mongols during the time of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (III) took place sometime between 616–618/1219–1221. The peace agreement that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is talking about seems to have happened during the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad in around 625–626/1227–1228. Unfortunately, Juwaynī who is the closest historian to the time, does not give much information about the affairs of the Nizārīs and the Mongols after Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan II, and the chapter that he devoted to the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad is just few abusive sentences against the personality of the new Nizārī Imām.⁴²² Other sources do not discuss directly any peace agreement between ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad and the Mongols too. However, there are some references to different envoys (*ilchīs*) from Alamūt sent to the Mongol court in Central Asia. Juwaynī and Mīrkhwānd, the author of *Rawḍat al-ṣafā’* wrote that the dignitaries of Alamūt present at the Ogotei’s accession were not treated respectfully, and the letter written by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn was replied to with harsh words.⁴²³

Another important account shows that the peaceful relationship between the Nizārīs and the Mongols did not end on the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (III). Contrary to what Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn said in their respective histories,⁴²⁴ Nasawī presents a different picture of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn in Alamūt in 627/1229, nine years after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan. Nasawī had been

⁴²¹ *Jangnāma-yi Sīstān*, p. 114, in “Re-examining the relations of Ismailis and the Sīstān rulers based on a newly found text”, by Maryam Moezzi, *Muṭālī‘āt-i tārikh-i islām*, No. 6, (1389/2010), Tehran.

⁴²² Juwaynī, 1385/2006, Vol. 3, p. 767.

⁴²³ Mīrkhwānd, 1380/2001, Vol. 8, p. 3945.

⁴²⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, Vol. 1, p. 178.

sent to Alamūt to settle a few issues between Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh (d. 628/1231) and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad. They were four issues which he lists and he discusses his conversation with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn which took place on a mountain in the presence of the Nizārī vizier, Muḥtasham ‘Imād al-Dīn. The reason for the unusual meeting place was that the Khwārazm-Shāh had told Nasawī not to kiss ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s hand and not to follow the customary court etiquette in his presence. One of the issues discussed was directly related to the issue of a peace agreement with the Mongols; the mission of Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad,⁴²⁵ the Nizārī envoy to the Mongol court. Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh, who had heard about Badr al-Dīn’s mission to the Tātārs, wanted to know what was exactly discussed between him and the Mongols. Therefore, he asked ‘Alā’ al-Dīn to send Badr al-Dīn to his court, probably in fact to punish him. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn replied: “The Sulṭān knows that our lands are bordering the Tātārs, and we are obliged to come to terms with them. If the Sulṭān thinks Badr al-Dīn’s mission was against the interest of the Sulṭān’s government, the one responsible would be ‘Alā’ al-Dīn not him”.⁴²⁶

It seems that ‘Alā’ al-Dīn was in a very difficult position here as he did not want to ruin the Nizārīs’ peaceful relation with both the Mongols and the Khwārazm-Shāhīs. The eastern areas of his territory were very vulnerable to the Mongols and the western and northern areas to the Khwārazm-Shāhs. This was the reason why according to Nasawī’s account he was very patient with Nasawī and his bold behaviour towards him. To the contrary, he treated him better than he had expected.⁴²⁷ This proves that quite the opposite to what Juwaynī said about ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s insanity as a result of bloodletting (*fāṣd*), he was very wise and was careful to keep both his allies happy and get along with them. The fact that ‘Alā’ al-Dīn gave refuge to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ghūrsānjī, Jalāl al-Dīn’s brother, after their hostile confrontation and did not hand him over to the Sulṭān, despite Khwārazm-Shāh’s request is a clear indication that ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s friendly position at his meeting with Nasawī was not out of fear or threat, but based on his principals and in the interests of the Nizārī state.

⁴²⁵ This Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad is the same person who was visiting the Khwārazm Shāh’s vezir Sharaf al-Mulk during the assassination of Urkhān, and revealed the identity of five fidā’īs within the Khwārazm-Shāh’s court.

⁴²⁶ Nasawī, 2005, p. 231.

⁴²⁷ He gives quite a detailed explanation of his meeting with the Nizārīs in Alamūt and why the Sulṭān had asked him not to kiss ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s hand and do not observe the accepted protocols in formal meetings, so that his companion Kamāl Mustawfī confessed that he did not hope to leave Alamūt alive. Nasawī, 2005, p. 232

4. Assassination of the Qā'ān

The other important point mentioned in this poem is the assassination of the Qā'ān. According to the context the poem, it seems that by Qā'ān he means Ogotei Qā'ān, since he mentions this after referring to the final fate of Genghis. In the case of Qā'ān too, the same theory concerning divine punishment is repeated:

“The Kingdom reached to Qā'ān, and since from the very beginning,

He abandoned animosity and came to term [with us],

His name came first in might and glory among all victorious kings,

Right when he struck the evil thought, and allied with the Devil and broke his promise...

For cutting the length of his life, the new moon rose up by the mount of might.

By the move of one pawn, the cry of check was heard beyond the blue sky,

Before finishing the wine of animosity,

His drunkenness joined with an unexpected death...”⁴²⁸

According to these lines, it can be said that Ogotei was in good terms with the Nizārīs at the beginning, but later for some reason he changed his policies towards them. Therefore, he paid the price.

Neither Juwaynī, nor Rashīd al-Dīn mentioned the fact that Ogotei was assassinated by the Nizārīs. Juwaynī records 637/1239 as the date of Ogotei Qa'an's death. He does not say much about how he died, except for its unexpected nature, after a very happy and indulgent life of drinking and pleasure.⁴²⁹ In terms of a change of policies towards the Nizārīs, it is not quite

⁴²⁸ *Dīwān-i qa'imīyyāt*, p. 151.

⁴²⁹ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 158.

clear in what way Ogotei did so, but generally the policies of Ogotei towards Muslims were more friendly than those of the other Mongol Khāns. Juwaynī dedicated a long chapter to the life and the wisdom of this Mongol ruler, particularly his attitudes towards the Muslims.⁴³⁰ It seems that Ogotei was more supportive of the Muslims, in contrast to his brothers such as Chagatai who was a fierce enemy of Muslims. If a supportive attitude towards the Muslims by Ogotei was the case, it is reasonable to think that his policies affected the Nizārīs of Alamūt in a positive way too.

The only indication of a change of policy towards the Nizārīs of Alamūt recorded in historical sources such as Juwaynī's is the account of what happened just after the death of Ogotei, during the accession ceremony of Guyūk in 639/1241. On that occasion, the representatives (*īlchīs*) and dignitaries from all parts of the Mongol Empire were present, including two Muḥtashams from Alamūt, Shams al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn. On their return, they were not treated respectfully alongside the Caliph's representatives. Juwaynī writes: "And the [official] Decree (*yirliḡh*) of the *īlchī* of Baghdād was revoked after being received, and because of the complaints made by Sīrāmūn, the son of Jurmāghūn, threatening messages was sent to the Amīr al-Mu'minīn. And the *īlchīs* of Alamūt were sent back in insulting way, and their letter was replied harshly the same way."⁴³¹

Unfortunately, none of our sources add further clarification giving the reasons behind the Mogonls' maltreatment of the representatives of Alamūt. If we trust the words of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, then one could argue that there might have been some kind of suspicion over their involvement in Ogotei's death. However, if such a suspicion was there, the response would have been much more severe than what took place. Sending high profile officials such as Muḥtasham Shams al-Dīn and Muḥtasham Shihāb al-Dīn to the accession ceremony of Guyūk signifies that the new Lord of Alamūt, 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad was loyal to the arrangement

⁴³⁰ Among the stories that he mentions is that of a person who was claiming that he had dreamt that Genghis told him to ask his son (Ogotei) to kill Muslims as they are bad people. When he explained his dream in the presence of the Qā'ān, the Qā'ān asked him "Did he tell you this himself or through an interpreter?" He replied, by himself. Then he asked him "Do you know Mongolian or Turkish?" he said: No! Then Qā'ān said he was sure his father did not know any other language except Mongolian, and therefore he concluded that that person was lying, and ordered him to be killed. Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 181.

⁴³¹ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 233. Also see Daftary, 2007, 388.

made by his father, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, with the Mongols. Nevertheless, the Mongols decided to change their policies towards them for some reason or other.

According to Juwaynī, upon his succession to Ogotei in 639/1241 Guyūk was preparing for another invasion of the western lands and Persia, as he ordered all the princes to send two out of every ten of their men as well as two out of every ten Tājīks (Persians) to the new army, starting with attacking the “*malāḥida*”. He was supposed to travel also behind the army, but near to Samarqand he died.⁴³²

According to these accounts, it is evident that the Mongol Khān Guyūk changed the policy towards the Nizārīs into an aggressive one. Therefore, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd’s words regarding the change of policy is supported by other sources. The only issue that is not supported by historical fact is the assassination of Ogotei Qā’ān by the Ismailis as claimed by our poet. Unless we suppose that by ‘Qā’ān’ he meant Guyūk not Ogotei. In this case, we can find some supporting accounts that the Mongol Khān was in fact killed by the Nizārīs.

Kāshānī in his *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* writes that few years after succeeding Ogotei, Guyūk began his invasion to the eastern part of his empire. On his way to Persia, the Nizārīs despatched a girl (*kanīz*) to his army. When Guyūk reached Qarāqurūm, the *kanīz* somehow presented herself to Guyūk as a musician (*khunyāgar*) and poisoned him. He subsequently died as a result of poisoning in 645/1247.⁴³³ Through the information within Ḥasan’s poem, we find out that the Qā’ān has been poisoned by wine (*khamr-i ‘adāwat tamām bāz nakhurda*), which corresponds with Kāshānī’s account. According to our sources, both Ogotei and Guyūk spent most of their time in drinking and entertainment. It seems the source is claiming that the Nizārīs tried to adopt their new tactic according to the Mongol Khāns’ habits. However, before this instance, we do not come across any account which says the Nizārīs used *fidā’ī* women against their enemies.

⁴³² Ibid., pp. 303-304.

⁴³³ Kāshānī, 1366/1987 p. 223.

5. The Assassination of Chagatai, Genghis Khān's elder son

The assassination of Chagatai is another incident mentioned as a victory in Ḥasan's poem. The account of Chagatai's death is not quite clear in our sources. The closest source to the time, Juwaynī's *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy* does not mention the assassination and the Nizārīs' involvement in this incident. He somehow relates his death to an epidemic that was incurable to which Chagatai succumbed and then died.⁴³⁴ However, both Rashīd al-Dīn and Juwaynī during their account of the final episode of Khurshāh, the last Nizārī Imām's life, in the way to Mongke Qā'ān's court, mentioned that a few members of Khurshāh's family were given to Balghān, one of Chagatai's daughters, to kill them in revenge of his father's assassination at the hands of the *fidā'īs*.⁴³⁵ Apart from this, we do not hear much detail about this assassination. In our *Dīwān* we have three different references to the assassination of Chagatai. One of these references is in the above poem where he mentions Chagatai by name and as "the brother of the second Genghis" whose heart felt the threat of *dhulfiqār*:

"The position of Chagatai, the brother of the second Genghis was taken and the task was accomplished,

His heart felt the threat of *dhulfiqār* on his royal throne."⁴³⁶

No mention of the date or any other information to the time and the circumstances of this incident is provided here. Chagatai's death is believed to have happened almost at the same year or a year later after Ogotei died. Juwaynī gives 637/1241 as the year of Ogotei death, but some others recorded it as 638/1241.⁴³⁷

The importance of the information provided in our *Dīwān* rest on the fact that not only it confirms the information in sources like Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, but also it gives some more information about the event. In this particular case, in a different poem the name of the *fidā'ī*, a particular Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. 'Alī who undertook this assassination is also been mentioned. *Qaṣīda* No. 133 of the *Dīwān* seems to have been written on the same occasion, since from the beginning of the poem, he talks about some good news or a blessing that came

⁴³⁴ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 313.

⁴³⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1387/2008, Vol. 1, p. 190, and Juwaynī, 1985, Vol. 3, 276.

⁴³⁶ *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, p. 152.

⁴³⁷ There is a possibility that the reason for maltreatment of the Nizārī envoys at the Ogotei's funeral might have been the Mongols' suspicion of involvement of the Nizārīs in the assassination of Jughatāy.

from the Heavens, after “the Lord of the Qiyāma” “retook the ring [of life] from the demon of the world by his mighty hand”. In this poem again, the same idea is repeated that the fate of Chagatai was due to the change of policies by the Mongols:

“Since they do not acknowledge the value of his blessing, their damned character changed from the old one,

Now wherever they go, they find doom on the left and misfortune on the right.

Take a lesson from the execution of Chagatai (Jughatāy), as that symbol of injustice and the representation of curse,

Who used to boast of his might that ‘he can conquest thousands of fortified castles’?

And ‘he is not scared of daggers, and he will not surrender to the *mujāhids* of the world’,

Ḥusām-i Dīn Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, a chivalrous one who became a symbol of generosity both in this world and Hereafter,

By his religious passion, he rose up to confront him in self-determination and faith,

The dagger penetrated the armour and the thirst of the desert cured by his blood.”⁴³⁸

It seems that he was not the only Mongol commander assassinated in this incident. According to the same poem, four other Mongol commanders (*amīr*) also met the same fate in this occasion.⁴³⁹ Generally Chagatai was not a popular Mongol ruler among the Persians (*Tājīks*) who were mostly Muslims. Chagatai was a very enthusiastic Mongol who wanted all the Persian subjects strictly observe the Genghisian *Yāsā*. Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn both discussed Chagatai’s personality and his treatment of his Muslim subjects. Their rhetoric and tone of language shows that he was not liked by them too. As an example, Juwaynī writes that “he had imposed such strict *Yāsās* which was extra-ordinary (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*) for the Persian (*Tājīks*) people; such as not slaughtering the sheep in Islamic way (*bismil kardan*), or not

⁴³⁸ *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt*, p. 352.

⁴³⁹ چهار امیر دگر هم موافقت کردند
به سوی تخته دویدند ز تخت دارافزین (Ibid., p. 352)

entering into water in daylight and many other similar rules. And the order not to slaughter the sheep according to the Sharī'a was sent to all regions of the territory, and people in Khurāsān did not slaughter sheep for some time publicly and Muslims were obliged to eat 'murdār' (not ḥalāl)."⁴⁴⁰ According to these accounts, it seems that it was not just the Nizārīs who benefitted from this assassination, but all Muslims could have been relieved at the result and therefore, the Nizārīs could have gained some credit among the Sunnī Persians too by this assassination. This could have been the reason why Juwaynī did not refer to the Nizārīs in his account as responsible for the death of Chagatai as he considered this as a credit to the Nizārīs.

The significance of this poem is not only for the information that it provides for us here, but also for the ideological context that enables us to find out how they understood the events unfolding in that particular period of history in light of the new era of the Qiyāma. As we noticed, all of the events regardless of being in the favour or against the Nizārīs, are put in this ideological context by Ḥasan, and his attempt is to present his view of the history as something rotating around an axis which he believes is the Qiyāma and its message. We should not forget that he is also the author of a history which has not reached us unfortunately, but it was quoted extensively by Rashīd al-Dīn and Kāshānī in their chronicles.

7.11 Reflection of Local Politics in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*

The Nizārī state of Alamūt had frequent engagements at various levels with the local rulers in Daylam, Rūdbār, Ray, Ādharbāyjān and other neighbouring regions at different levels. Most of these political engagements were generally confrontational. However, there were times when the Nizārīs enjoyed a period of friendly relations with the local rulers and these periods are reflected in the *Dīwān*. Here again Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd has tried to depict these periods in line with his general perception of the Qiyāma era and the positive changes that it had brought for the Nizārīs as well as the region generally.

The political affairs reflected in the *Qā'imīyyāt* are mainly related to the second era of the Qiyāma which began after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan in 618/1221, during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. As we discussed earlier, the Qiyāma era was interrupted in 606/1209 by

⁴⁴⁰ Juwaynī, 1958, p. 227.

the death of A'ālā' Muḥammad. After the Mongol invasion of the Persian lands, by the time 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad came to power as the Nizārī Imām in Alamūt, the powerful dynasty of Khwārazm-Shāhīs had become considerably weakened. At the same time, the *taqiyya* policies of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan improved the status of the Nizārī state with the people and local Sunnī rulers in the neighbouring regions. Although by the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, the Qiyāma era was gradually revived, contrary to the general assumptions of Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, 'Alā' al-Dīn did not change the policies of the Nizārī state towards his father's allies or the Mongols.⁴⁴¹ For these reasons, the Nizārī state played more important part in the local politics of the region. Furthermore, the relative peaceful situation within the Nizārī territories because of the previous alliance with local dynasties, along with the strength of their fortresses and their *fidā'īs*, gave them the opportunity to attract people influential in politics and scholarship to their castles. In light of these developments, Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd devoted two *Qaṣīdas* specifically to this issue, commemorating this popularity of the Nizārī state as a place of refuge among certain rulers and scholars. In the introduction of the *qaṣīda* 55 he writes:

“This ‘*bandigī*’ (*qaṣīda*) was composed during the arrival of good news of an inclination of the neighbouring kings and others towards joining the service of the Sacred Everlasting Presence!”⁴⁴²

Although there is no date in this introduction, there is no doubt that it was written during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, since in the body of the poem he mentions his name and says:

“The shining ones (*rawshanān*) of the Soul World in the Divine Heaven utter the name of 'Mawḷānā Muḥammad'.”⁴⁴³

What we understand from the references in this poem is that he is not only talking about politicians here, but he talks about all different personalities which he calls “*rawshanān*” who could be scholars and intellectuals. This idea is confirmed by the next lines of this poem where he says:

⁴⁴¹ Juwaynī, 1958, Vol 3, p. 249. Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 177.

⁴⁴² Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 2011, p. 162.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 163.

“All different walks of people are facing the Daylamān Throne in humility and obedience,

And the world rulers enthusiastically seek refuge in the sacred presence of the ‘Şāhib-Zamān’”⁴⁴⁴

As we know as a result of the Mongol invasion and the destruction of most of the eastern cities of the Islamic lands and centres of learning, the scholars of these areas were scattered around the neighbouring regions where the local rulers had signed peace deals with the Mongols and were enjoying a degree of security. One of these areas which became a place of refuge for these scholars was the Nizārī state. The Nizārī state during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, known as “Naw-Musalmān”, had already opened its gates to the outside world in the early years of the 7th/13th century, and by the beginning of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s reign, the Nizārī state had acquired a good reputation for hosting scholars in the safety and comfort of their castles. It was during this period that Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī joined the Nizārīs in Quhistān, probably around 619-620/1222-1223. Minhāj-i Sirāj, the author of *Ṭabaqāt-i nāsirī* who visited the Nizārī castles in Quhistān in 621/1224 recorded his observations after meeting Muḥtasham Shihāb al-Dīn:

“He nourished immigrants and kept the displaced Muslims who had approached him under his care. Therefore, his companions were the ‘ulamā’ of Khurāsān, such as Afḍal al-Dīn Bāmiyānī, Shams al-Dīn Khusrawshāhī and other Khurāsānī ‘ulamā’ who had gone there and were treated respectfully in such a way that it was said that during the first two or three years of upheavals in Khurāsān, they had received one thousand and seventy hundred *tashrīfs* (gifts) and seven hundred saddled horses from his abundant treasury.”⁴⁴⁵

The above description corresponds with what we read in Ḥasan’s poem about immigration of intellectuals to the Nizārī castles. However, the political figures who took refuge in Alamūt were more significant for Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd as he mentioned them by name. In another *qaṣīda*, which was written specifically on this issue, he mentions the names of two rulers who took refuge in Alamūt during the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad: Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ghūrsānjī, Sulṭān

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 164.

⁴⁴⁵ Jawzjānī, 1363/1984, p. 183.

Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh's brother, and Atābak Nuṣrat al-Dīn Khāmūsh. In the introduction to *qaṣīda* No. 72 he writes:

"This '*bandigī*' was composed on the topic of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's forecasts and enunciations, among which I mention the seeking refuge of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ghūrsānjī b. Muḥammad and Malik Naṣr al-Dīn Khāmūsh b. Atābak-i Mu'azzam-i Uzbek in the service of His Greatness (*ḥaḍrat-i jallat*)."⁴⁴⁶

He begins the poem by referring to the forecasts of 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and then refers specifically to Muḥammad ('Alā' al-Dīn) as the "Judge of the cycles" (*dāwar-i adwār*) and finally refers to the refugees:

"O You, the General Qā'im to whom our Prophet, the Guidance Crown, the Chosen Aḥmad pointed to in his forecast,

That shining light that by Qiyāmat removed all the remaining veils at once,...

That Judge of cycles, Muḥammad, excepting whom there is no mediator for the God's Grace in both Worlds, ...

There is no place for doubt and negation for anybody in the Qā'im's Call (*da'wat*) [now],

They willingly make their faces ground in obedience under the feet of the Mighty State, ...

Now, the mighty Sulṭān has tightened his belt in your Exalted ('Alā') presence in honesty,

For your satisfaction, the King of the East Atābak has left his treasures, entourage and fearless army behind,"⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ "این بندگی در باب بعضی از وعد و بشارت وعید اشارات که علی ذکره السلام فرموده است گفته آمد و در اثنای آن از التجا ساختن سلطان غیاث الدین غورسانجی بن محمد و ملک نصرالدین خاموش بن اتابک معظم از یک به خدمت حضرت جلت ذکری کرده شد."

Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 1390/2011, p. 199.

پیغمبر ما تاج هدی احمد مختار	ای قائم کلی که به او داد بشارت
هر پرده که بد مانده بینداخت به یک بار	آن نور درفشنده که از روی قیامت

Accounts of these incidents were recorded by Nasawī in his *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn*. According to Nasawī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn's relationship with his brother Jalāl al-Dīn deteriorated after he killed Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kharmalī, who was a close ally of the Sulṭān, when he was drunk. Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was threatened with being punished for his action abandoned Jalāl al-Dīn's army during his confrontation with the Mongols in Iṣfahān in 625/1227. As he could not find any other ruler who would be ready to give him refuge, he went to Alamūt. The Khwārazm-Shāh asked 'Alā' al-Dīn to hand him over, but 'Alā' al-Dīn declined as it was against his principles. However, he tried to mediate between them and he was accepted by the Sulṭān as the mediator. To strengthen his ties with the Sulṭān, 'Alā' al-Dīn even sent nine *fidā'īs* to Jalāl al-Dīn so he could use them for eradicating his enemies. Although the Khwārazm-Shāh did not accept his *fidā'īs*, 'Alā' al-Dīn's move changed his attitude towards the Nizārīs and he addressed 'Alā' al-Dīn more respectfully in his correspondence. Finally, 'Alā' al-Dīn being unable to convince Ghiyāth al-Dīn to go back to Khwārazm-Shāh's court, despite his initial agreement, helped him to leave Alamūt for Kirmān. However, not long after arriving in Kirmān, Ghiyāth al-Dīn was imprisoned by Burāq, the governor of Kirmān and eventually killed.⁴⁴⁸

The other prince who according to Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd took refuge in the Nizārī state of Alamūt was Malik Khāmūsh b. Atābak Uzbek (d. 626/1228). He was the only son of the Atābak Uzbek. As he was born mute and deaf, he was called "*khāmūsh*" (silent). When Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh was returning from Akhlāṭ, Malik Khāmūsh joined him at Ganja in 625/1227. Khāmūsh, who had lost his lands, presented valuable gifts to the Khwārazm-Shāh and stayed with him for some time. However, he was not well received and his expectations were not met.

آن داور ادوار محمد که جز او نیست	در هر دو جهان واسطه رحمت دادار
بر دعوت قائم نبود هیچ کسی را	یک ذره محل حرج و موضع انکار
سازند رخ خویش زمین از سر رغبت	زیر قدم بندگی دولت قهار...
اینک کمر از غایت اخلاص ببسته	بر درگاه اعلای تو سلطان جهاندار
وز بهر رضای تو شه شرق اتابک	بگذاشته گنج و خدم و لشکر جرار

Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 1390/2011, p. 199-203.

⁴⁴⁸ Nasawī, 1324/1945, p. 127-129.

Therefore, he left the Khwārazm-Shāh's court without his permission and went to Alamūt, where he died a month later.⁴⁴⁹

The impression that the Nizārīs got from these two princes fleeing to Alamūt was this could be a turning point in the ultimate success of their state, since the news of these reached Shām and Anatolia very quickly. According to Nasawī, when the Khwārazm-Shāh was coming back from Akhlāt, he received a letter from 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 1220-1237) in Ṭuḡṭāb, in which he asked for a coalition against the Ayyūbids. Along with that letter, he had sent on another letter which had been sent to him by Sirāj al-Dīn Muẓaffar, the Nizārī *dā'ī* of Shām. In this letter, Sirāj al-Dīn had written to Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād saying that Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh had been killed near Iṣfahān and his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn alongside the Atābak Qizil Alrsalān (Khāmūsh) had joined 'Alā' al-Dīn in Alamūt and thereby the whole region of 'Irāq was secured for the Nizārī state without any challenge from a rival.⁴⁵⁰

It was after this incident that Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh sent Nasawī to Alamūt on a mission to settle a few issues with the Nizārī state, but with hard conditions such as "if 'Alā' al-Dīn does not receive him personally, he should not enter Alamūt. Furthermore, he should not kiss 'Alā' al-Dīn's hand (against what was customary) and he should not follow other protocol and etiquette in his presence!"⁴⁵¹ Despite all of these insulting kinds of behaviour, Nasawī tells us that 'Alā' al-Dīn did not react aggressively and they agreed to meet informally on a mountain. They succeeded to settle the issues fairly and Nasawī was generously treated on his departure. These accounts prove that although the Nizārīs had been making use of occasional political victories for the purpose of their internal ideological propaganda, practically in dealing with political realities they had a more realistic approach to their interactions with their political rivals in the region.

In this same years, the Nizārīs could sometimes achieve victories over their enemies in the northern provinces of Iran too. In *qaṣida* no. 124 that we quoted before, there are few references to these issues that we cannot find in other sources. The province of Dāmghān and Qūmis which had been always subject to different activities of the Nizārīs, at this time were under dispute between the Mongols and the Khwārazm-Shāhs. Since Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁵⁰ Nasawī, 1324/1945, p. 148.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 148.

Shāh was being pursued by the Mongols, the dispute between him and the Mongols was diverted to other areas. Therefore, Dāmghān was left without any major military support. This created an opportunity for the Nizārīs who were already present in different castles in this area like Girdkūh and Maṣṣūrūh to capture this important city.⁴⁵² Since Dāmghān was part of the territory of Urkhān, an ally of the Khwārazm-Shāh, Ḥasan refers to this dispute and mentions his name in this poem.

The other point mentioned in the above poem is the assassination of the governor of Khalkhāl. There is no mention of the assassination of him by the Nizārī *fidā'īs* in the histories. There is only one account in *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Minkibirnī* about a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn Takīn Tāsh who was one of the military commanders of Atābak Sa'd in Shīrāz who joined Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh after the Atābak's death and was appointed as the governor of Khalkhāl and the surrounding areas. Nasawī writes that this Ḥusām al-Dīn was killed in 628/1230, but he does not say how he was killed and who was responsible.⁴⁵³ Although there is no clear reference to prove he was killed by the Nizārīs, the date of his death fits with the period of time that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is talking about, and therefore the governor of Khalkhāl whom he talks about could be this Ḥusām al-Dīn.

The only governor who is said by Nasawī to be killed by the Nizārī *fidā'īs* in areas near Khalkhāl is Urkhān who was a very powerful ally of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm Shāh. He held the province of Khurāsān as *iqṭā'* on his behalf. Nasawī in his *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Minkibirnī* writes that in the year 624/1226 when Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh was in Khuy in Azerbaijan, somebody called Kamāl who was 'Alā' al-Dīn's deputy in Shām came to Jalāl al-Dīn's court and complained about Urkhān's representative in Khurāsān and his hostile behaviour towards the Ismailis. The Khwārazm-Shāh referred him to Urkhān who was accompanying him in Khuy. However, Urkhān did not show any sympathy for this complaint and responded arrogantly to their complaint. After Kamāl had left disappointed, when the Khwārazm-Shāh arrived at Ganja, three *fidā'īs* found an opportunity outside the city to kill Urkhān. Afterwards, the *fidā'īs* entered the city of Ganja, holding their daggers in their hands while shouting "May our souls be sacrificed for Mawlānā 'Alā' al-Dīn", until they were stoned and killed by the people.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² Daftary, 2007, p. 384.

⁴⁵³ Nasawī, 1324/1945, Vol. 1, p. 27.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 117-119.

We do not know exactly why the *fidā'īs* went to the city of Ganja after their successful attempt to eliminate a hostile enemy, when they could perhaps have returned safely to their headquarters. There seems to be evidence of conflicting missions from Alamūt in that area at that time. At the same time as that event, Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad, the envoy of Alamūt was on his way to Azerbaijan to meet Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh's vizier on a more peaceful mission. None of the scholars who have written about this incident have discussed this contradiction in order to present any explanation for this extraordinary situation.⁴⁵⁵ Bernard Lewis who reports the full story of this incident in his book writes that the three *fidā'īs* entered the city of Ganja in pursuit of Sharaf al-Mulk. Since they did not find him in his palace, they went to the city, shouting their slogan.⁴⁵⁶

When Badr al-Dīn reached Bīlghān, he heard the news of Urkhān's assassination. Since the *fidā'īs* had entered the residence of Sharaf al-Mulk, the Khwārazm-Shāh's vizier, and injured one of his servants in the absence of Sharaf al-Mulk himself, Badr al-Dīn was not sure if he should now go to see him in order to carry out his mission or go back. He decided to write to him and see what he thought. As Sharaf al-Mulk had been threatened by the action of the *fidā'īs*, convinced Badr al-Dīn to go to his court. Surprisingly he was well received and stayed in the company of the vizier for some time, until when he was drunk he revealed the identity of some other secret *fidā'īs* in the service of Sharaf al-Dīn. Although Sharaf al-Mulk was even more scared and expressed his obedience to 'Alā' al-Dīn, upon the revelation of the story, the Khwārazm-Shāh gave orders that the five *fidā'īs* should be burned alive against Sharaf al-Mulk's wishes.⁴⁵⁷

As a general conclusion of all these accounts, we can see a high level of confidence and determination among the Nizārī Ismaili leadership as the result of the Qiyāma Proclamation. At one level, the Nizārīs conducted their normal affairs in a peaceful and diplomatic manner, and at the same time, they were ready to confront their opponents with destructive force, if they chose to engage aggressively. The story of Urkhān's assassination shows that these two policies were always pursued side-by-side. Furthermore, the Nizārīs knew that the ideological

⁴⁵⁵ The other possible explanation of these conflicting missions could be that the *fidā'īs* had been sent from Quhistān where they were directly affected by Urkhān's aggressive behaviour, and they knew nothing about the mission of the envoy of Alamūt. Also see Hodgson, 1980, pp. 250-252.

⁴⁵⁶ Lewis, Bernard, *The Assassins, A Radical Sect in Islam*, London, 1967, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117-118.

differences between them and other polities were as strong as ever, and the peaceful relationship could easily fall apart. However, the Mongol's continuous attacks on the territories of the Nizārīs and the Khwārazm-Shāhs compelled them to solve their differences by negotiation. The killing of the five *fidā'īs* could reignite the former violent relations between the Ismailis and the Khwārazm-Shāhs. To prevent that, the Nizārīs sent an envoy with the name of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn⁴⁵⁸ (probably the author of the *Qā'imīyyāt*) to Sharaf al-Mulk to ask for compensation. After negotiations, Sharaf al-Mulk agreed to reduce their annual revenue from Dāmghān which was held by the Nizārīs by ten thousand Dīnārs for five years as blood money for the five *fidā'īs* who were killed.⁴⁵⁹

If the “Ilyāj” mentioned in the above poem as “the evil” man who used to taunt the Nizārīs was the ill-fated Urkhān, then we can be certain that “Ilyāj” must be a variation of Urkhān which was changed to the former because different copyists could not read the word properly.⁴⁶⁰

It seems that these events were perceived as important parts of an episode in Nizārī history and played a significant role in their new perception of the world after the Qiyāma Proclamation. Both of these incidents represented the fulfilment of Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām’s predictions which promised the Qiyāma era would bring the Nizārī state political and ideological success.

Ḥasan’s account of the Qiyāma in his *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt* shows that at the beginning of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s reign in Alamūt in 618/1221, the era of the Qiyāma was revived again. Mongol invasion in its early stages created more opportunities for the Nizārī state because it defeated their powerful rivals and extended the Nizārī territory to their neighbouring areas. Furthermore, the cautious measures taken by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan in dealing with the Mongols and neighbouring dynasties, meant that the Nizārī state could play a more important role in the regional politics during the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad. However, for the supporters of the Qiyāma practice, all the new developments in favour of the Nizārī state were perceived as signs of the realization of the world which Ḥasan ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām had promised to them after the Qiyāma Proclamation. We do not know to what extent we can interpret the words of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd as the official position of the Nizārī state, or rather simply the

⁴⁵⁸ He could be the author of *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, as his “*kunya*” was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn too.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁴⁶⁰ No reference could be found to the name of “Ilyāj” in the available sources.

perceptions and the longings of the Nizārī masses. It would be reasonable to believe that it was a mixture of both propositions. The fact that Sirāj al-Dīn, the head of the Syrian Nizārī community, sent a letter to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kayqubād to boast of the victories of the Nizārīs in western Persia (‘Irāq) shows that the leaders of the Nizārīs saw all these events as the beginning of a new glorious era. However, Nasawī’s meeting with ‘Alā’ al-Dīn and his vizier and the compromises that they were ready to make shows that practically they were not naive and their political victories did not make them so arrogant that they could not see the events realistically.

The interpretation of Ismaili eschatology that we come across in the *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt* is unique and we cannot find a similar example which addresses the concept from different perspectives. The author not only tries to explain the theoretical framework of the concept of the Qiyāma, but he also projects his perception and understanding of the theory onto the outside world and interprets unfolding events according to his ideological framework. This feature of the *Dīwān* gives us an opportunity to look at the historical events taking place in his time through the eyes of somebody who witnessed the Qiyāma era in Alamūt and believed in it sincerely. The predictions that ‘Alā’ Dhikrihi al-Salām had made during his Qiyāma Proclamation is like a framework within which our poet tries to fit all the events happening around his time. Therefore, the world that Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd lived in was the world of the Qiyāma era. According to Ismaili tradition, the most important feature of the Qiyāma era is “revealing the Truth” and changing the world into a “just world”, where opposing elements come together peacefully. Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd tried to explain this peaceful world in a symbolic language in one of his poems which can bring this chapter to a most appropriate conclusion. In this world, “human beings are created in four different symbolic types; the first is the lion for their greatness and bravery, the second is the wolf for their cruelty and greed, the third is the fox for their deceitfulness, and the fourth is the sheep for their benefaction and loyalty. The *fidā’īs* are the lions who undertake *jihād* with love and bravery, the Turks are the wolves who are seeking to conquer more lands, the foxes are the hypocrites (*munāfiq*) who try to deceive people, and the sheep are the faithful (according to the Qur’an) who follow the Imām forever. Through the cooperation of the Turks and the Imām’s army, today we can see that the wolves and the sheep drink water together as has been promised.”⁴⁶¹ Accordingly, in the

⁴⁶¹ Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, 2011, pp. 324-325.

world of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, everything that had been promised during the Qiyāma era by the Qā'im had already been fulfilled.

Conclusion



The concept of the Qiyāma did survive after the collapse of the Nizārī state of Alamūt in 654/1256 which is the beginning of a new era in Ismaili history. Although the fate of this concept after the collapse of the Nizārī state of Alamūt deserves to be studied as an independent research topic, it would be beneficial to have a brief discussion of its survival here before the concluding remarks.

The termination of the Qiyāma era by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan at Alamūt did not eradicate the concept of the Qiyāma, and the need and the aspiration for change within the Shīʿī-Ismaili tradition endured in later periods too. There are many accounts of messianic movements in Persia in later decades that share many similarities with the proclamation of the Qiyāma and its messianic message in Alamūt. Particularly after the Mongol invasion in early 7th/13th century, there was a marked increase in the number of these movements which had much support and success in some areas of Iran. Although the Ismaili tradition was not the only tradition promoting messianism, the intellectual framework in the literature of some movements such as the Ḥurūfīs and the Nūrbakhshīs shows a degree of Ismaili influence.⁴⁶² These influences show that despite the fact that the Qiyāma doctrine did not produce any lasting political achievement for the Nizārīs, it influenced and inspired different movements intellectually or politically in later periods.

⁴⁶² Nūrbakhsh's "Risālat al-Hudā" and Astarābādī's "Jāwdān-Nāmāh" are comparable to the Qiyāma literature of Alamūt in their shared themes and concepts.

The Ismailis themselves, however, had to adapt to the new conditions of the post-Alamūt era. They not only lost their political and military power, but the destruction of their castles left them unprotected and as a result they had to take precautions. More importantly, their Imām was executed in Turkistān along with members of his family on the orders of Mongke Qāʾān (1251–1259).⁴⁶³ This event brought another period of historical ambiguity which is usually referred to as “*satr*” for the Ismaili community. Contrary to Juwaynī’s account which says nothing was left of the Ismailis after the execution of Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, the final Imām in Alamūt, they endured an undercover life, and gradually re-emerged as a reformed religious group, which was able occasionally to regain political power as well.

There are historical references to a particular Khudāwand Muḥammad who joined the Marʾashīs of Gīlān around 776/1374, claiming he had left the Ismaili faith in the hope of regaining control over Daylam. The Marʾashīs who did not fully accept his rejection of his previous faith, did not fulfil their previous agreement in relinquishing the control of Ishkūr in Ṭabaristān to him. As a result, he fled to Alamūt which was under the control of the Hazāraspīs. With the help of the Hazāraspīs, he was able to recapture Alamūt and Daylam and reunite the Nizārīs of that region.⁴⁶⁴ In Ismaili sources, there is a text titled as “*Alfāz-i dur-nithār-i Khudāwand Muḥammad*” which refers to the destruction of Alamūt as another Karbalā, and laments over the condition of the castle after its destruction.⁴⁶⁵ Although sometimes his name is given as Muḥammad-i Zardūz which reminds one of Shams-i Tabrīz, his personality is surrounded with many ambiguities. The general belief is that Muḥammad-i Zardūz was the son of Muʾmin Shāh b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, one of the Muʾminshāhī (or Muḥammad Shāhī Imāms).⁴⁶⁶ It was during the same period that Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1393) began

⁴⁶³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 190.

⁴⁶⁴ Marʾashī, 1330/1912, p. 58.

⁴⁶⁵ MS 823, pp. 49 – 56.

⁴⁶⁶ There are some historical accounts that suggest Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabrīzī could have been Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Zardūz, the Ismaili Imām. The ambiguity over the character of Shams-i Tabrīz in different sources is an indication that there were reasons for him to hide his identity. This could be because of his fear or reluctance to disclose his association with the Ismailis. Dawlatshāh Samarqandī has an account of Shams-i Tabrīz in his *Taḍkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* in which he refers to a narrative that considers Shams to be the son of “Khāwand Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn”. He writes that Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan repented of the religion of his fathers and burnt the books related to “*malāhida*”. He also sent his son Shams al-Dīn secretly to Tabrīz for his education. Since he was very good looking in his childhood, he had been kept with the women so that strange men would not see him. As a result, he learnt embroidery from the Tabrīzī women (*Tadhkira*, 2003, p. 195). Although Dawlatshāh’s account has been dismissed by most scholars as fantasy, the descriptions of Shams’s character and personality in his adulthood as a person who did not remember much about his father in different hagiographies corresponds better

the Ḥurūfī movement under the influence of Ismaili apocalyptic ideas, but we do not know if Khudāwand Muḥammad's political campaign was somehow inspired by such beliefs, but the possibility cannot be ruled out. Astarābādī also believed that the period of prophecy had ended and the Divine had manifested Himself in his person.⁴⁶⁷

The first Imām who was referred to as the Qā'im after the fall of Alamūt was Mustanṣir Bi'llāh II (d. 885/1480), known also as Shāh Qalandar.⁴⁶⁸ In *Haft bāb-i Abū Ishāq* which has an extensive chapter on the concept of the Qiyāma, we come across an account in which Mustanṣir Bi'llāh is mentioned as the "the Qā'im, the Lord of eighteen thousands worlds – 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh."⁴⁶⁹ The same phrase was used in *Kalām-i pīr*.⁴⁷⁰ In a poem, which is wrongly attributed to Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd in the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, but should be by another Ismaili poet contemporary with Mustanṣir Bi'llāh II, the same idea is repeated. The poet talks about the new era of *kashf* which was begun by Salām Shāh, the father of Mustanṣir Bi'llāh II.⁴⁷¹ There are many similarities between this juncture of Ismaili history and other apocalyptical junctures. Like other Imām-Qā'ims, Mustanṣir Bi'llāh II was the Nizārī Imām who ended the previous era of *satr* when he established his headquarters in Anjudān near Arāk in central Iran. Furthermore, he also inherited his position as a result of another dispute over succession

with the above account. We know that Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan stayed in Azarbaijan for a year and half with Muẓaffar al-Dīn Atābak Uzbek and married several wives from the local dynasties in the region. (Rashīd al-Dīn, 2008, p. 173) According to his own words, he did not see his father much and was always kept with his mother. This could be because his identity could endanger his security in a hostile environment. If this was the case, then there is a possibility that the Ismaili line of Imāms continued from his progeny, as all available histories claim that all members of Khurshāh's family (the last Imām in Alamūt) were executed by the Mongols. Among certain groups of Ismailis Shams-i Tabrīz is considered to be the son of Khurshāh, the Ismaili Imām, which is historically impossible. However, if we trust Dawlatshāh's account the problem over the age difference between Khurshāh and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad which exists in the Ismaili tradition could be resolved, though it would create another problem in the line of succession in the list of the Nizārī Imāms.

⁴⁶⁷ Daftary, 2007, p. 421.

⁴⁶⁸ Pourjavadi & Lamborn, 1975, p. 114.

⁴⁶⁹ Quhistānī, 1336/1957, p. 63.

⁴⁷⁰ This work is also known as *Haft bāb-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw* but was probably written by Sayyid Suhrāb Walī Badakhshānī. Ivanow believes that Khayrkhwāh Harātī plagiarized the work of Abū Ishāq as *Kalām-i pīr*. However, based on the writings of Khayrkhwāh, it is not reasonable for somebody who was trying to establish his authority in the region of Khurāsān to forge the work of another person in the name of a third person. The reason for attributing the work to Sayyid Suhrāb is that he was a contemporary of Mustanṣir Bi'llāh II, whose name is mentioned in the work as the Imām of the time. As Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Imām of the time also was a Mustanṣir Bi'llāh (the first), the work has been mistaken for Nāṣir-i Khusraw's. However, it seems there was political reasons too for discrediting Sayyid Suhrāb in Badakhshān.

⁴⁷¹ In this poem, it seems that Salām Shāh is not different from Mustanṣir Bi'llāh.

to the Imāma which resulted in the Qāsim-Shāhī and Muḥammad-Shāhī split.⁴⁷² All of these features can also be seen in the cases of ‘Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām and ‘Abdullāh al-Mahdī as Imām-Qā’ims who ended the era of *satr*.

The Qiyāma fever is reflected in the literature of the Anjudān revival period as well. Particularly the influence of *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt* of Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd is reflected in the works of poets such as Dā’ī Anjudānī⁴⁷³ and a particular Zuhūrī who seem to have lived during the time of Mustanṣir Bi’llāh II. In a poem which had apparently been written in commemoration of Ḥasan’s poem, “*Ay ‘ālam-i khudā wa khudāyī riḍā-yi tu*”.⁴⁷⁴ Dā’ī Anjudānī addresses Mustanṣir Bi’llāh and says:

“You are the expected one by all *nātiqs* from the beginning of the creation.”⁴⁷⁵

In a different poem written in praise of the Ismaili Imāms known as “*Dhuriyya-nāmah*” in which the names of the Imāms are listed up to the current time, which was that of Mustanṣir Bi’llāh, it says:

“The grand Qā’im and the Lord of the world, who commands, the whole world,

Shāh Mustanṣir Bi’llāh is the *muḥiqq* of both worlds, in whose auspicious glimpse you find Heaven.”⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷² The nature of this split is one of the most ambiguous. The dispute happened after Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad between his sons, Mu’min Shāh and Qāsim Shāh. However, there are reasons to think that the split happened after Mu’min Shāh and between his son and his brother Qāsim Shāh. The reason is Mu’min Shāh’s name appears in the list of Qāsim Shāhī Imāms in the early periods, and later on it was erased or crossed out. The fact that Mu’min-Shāhīs are called Muḥammad-Shāhī as well supports this hypothesis.

⁴⁷³ The name of Dā’ī Anjudānī is mentioned in few anthologies with variations in the dates for his life. The author of *Athar-āfarīnān* recorded 1021/1612 for his death and in *Qāmūs* it was recorded as 1155/1742. None of these dates corresponds with the above person, as the third Mustanṣir Bi’llāh died in 904/1498. Zuhūrī’s date of death is also recorded as 1026/1617, which again cannot quite fit within our time-frame here.

⁴⁷⁴ *Dīwān-i qā’imiyyāt*, No. 136, p. 357.

⁴⁷⁵ MS P4, f. 293.

⁴⁷⁶ MS P4, f. 302.

Ẓuhūrī is another poet who lived during the era of Mustanşir Bi'llāh II and talked more explicitly about the Qiyāma era during the time of this Imām. In a poem that recalls the *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, dedicated to Mustanşir Bi'llāh and the new *zuhūr* era he says:

“Shāh Mustanşir, the Word-scale of Revelation, by whom the Infinite has found a way to represent...,

It is by his reappearance that for punishment and reward, a Sharī'a is transformed into a Qiyāma.”⁴⁷⁷

However, it does not seem that this Qiyāma fever lasted for long. After the spread of millenarian movements in this period, the Şafawids tried to contain them by force. There is evidence that there was organic relationship between the Ismailis and the Nuqṭawīs who were probably the remnants of Ḥurūfīs in this period. Amrī Shīrāzī (d. 999/1590), who was executed by Shāh Ṭahmāsp for being part of the “heretic Nuqṭawī” group, is reported to be an Ismaili in Ismaili sources of this age.⁴⁷⁸ Murād Mīrzā, the Qāsim Shāhī Nizārī Imām of this age (d. 981/1574) was also executed at this time.⁴⁷⁹

The serious political consequences that the revolutionary ideas of Ismailis brought for the vulnerable Ismaili community in Iran in this period made them close the doors of the *kashf* era again and take a more conservative stance under a new policy of *taqiyya*. This new policy had two layers; on one layer, the Ismaili Imām declared himself as just a descendant of the Prophet whose followers believed in Twelve Shī'ī Imāms. Therefore, from this perspective there was no difference between them and the Shī'as of Iran. This is evident in the decree issued by Shāh 'Abbās I in 1036/1627,⁴⁸⁰ as well as the inscriptions of the name of the twelve Imāms on the Ismaili gravestones in Anjudān and Kahak.⁴⁸¹ On another layer, they gradually became closer to the Nī'matullāhī Sufi order, which shared many similarities with them. The Nī'matullāhīs were also Twelver Shī'īs, and the head of their order, Shāh Nī'matullāh, was a descendant of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Şādiq. As a Sufi tradition, they also had *bāṭinī* tendencies in their approach to religion. Although there was a hostile attitude towards the Sufis in general

⁴⁷⁷ MS BQ, p. 101.

⁴⁷⁸ See Ivanow, 1963, p. 144. Also *Riyāḍ al-Ārifīn*, 1388/2009, pp. 207-208.

⁴⁷⁹ Daftary, 2007, p. 436.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 437.

⁴⁸¹ *The Ismaili Heritage in Maḥallāt*, Unpublished field work paper by the author, 2002, p. 21.

among the Twelver Shīʿī clergy who were powerful in Ṣafawid Iran, the historical popularity of Sufis among the general public in Iran helped the Ismaili Imāms to enjoy a level of security in cities rather than in remote havens or fortresses.⁴⁸² Through this Sufi-Ithnāʿasharī public policy, later the Ismaili Imāms were even able to find their way into the ruling class, when Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī known as Biglarbaygī (d. 1206/1792), the forty-fourth Nizārī Imām became the governor of Kirmān.⁴⁸³

Main Outcomes

There are number of findings in this study that are the outcome of this research.

- The notion of the Qiyāma for Ismailis was a multi-faceted concept which had different functions in their history. The principle function of this concept was its doctrinal and theological capacity for reform. The Qiyāma era was the realization of the esoteric or the *bāṭinī* aspect of religion as the final and ultimate era of a cyclical form of religious history. The Qāʾim as the terminator of all religious laws or Sharīʿas brings all people of different religions together under his own unifying banner. Although there was some confusion in the early stages about the nature of the abrogation of the Sharīʿa, under gradual reforms the abrogation of religious Laws or Sharīʿas was interpreted in a way that did not include those laws based on reason and on which social life depended. Therefore, what they interpreted as the Sharīʿa was the ritualistic aspects of religion which were referred to as Obligations (*takālīf*) in Islam.
- In the early perception of the Ismailis there was not any difference between the Mahdī and the Qāʾim. The Mahdī was believed to be the “Qāʾim-i Āl-i Muḥammad” who would raise arm against the oppressors and lead the faithful to the promised just world in which “wolf and sheep” live together in harmony. However, after the rise of Mahdī in the Maghrib, the concepts of the Mahdī and the Qāʾim were regarded as different. Therefore, in the later Qiyāma Proclamations by the Druze and the Nizārīs, there was no mention of the Mahdī, but it was only the Qāʾim who undertook the fulfilment of the religious and political promises.
- The importance of a degree of political triumph for the rise of Imām-Qāʾims and the initiation of the Qiyāma proclamations is evident. In all these cases, before the Proclamation of the

⁴⁸² See Jaʿfariyān, Rasūl, *Ṣafawiyya dar ʿarṣah-yi dīn, farhang wa siyāsāt*, 3 Vols, Ḥawza wa Dānishgāh Pub., Qum, 1379/2000.

⁴⁸³ Vazīrī, 1340/1961, p. 352.

Qiyāma the *da'wa* enjoyed a degree of political success seen as a credible sign of the realization of God's promise. Nevertheless, the expectation of the Ismaili population in the emergence of the Mahdī-Qā'im in these regions was ripe before the event. The success of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shī'ī in the Maghrib and Ibn Ḥawshab in Yemen was instrumental in the decision of the founder of the Fatimid Caliphate, Sa'īd b. Ḥusayn, to reveal himself as the Mahdī, just as the military victories of the Nizārīs in the Daylam and Quhistān were crucial in raising expectations for the imminent emergence of the Qā'im in Alamūt. The Druze case seems to be an exception from this perspective. It is possible that the main cause of al-Ḥākim's apocalyptic inspiration was the conjunction of his reign with the first millennium of the Christian calendar and the postponed promise of the Qā'im's project, which was not realized by 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī.

- Ending the *satr* era and consolidating the authority of the Imām is another important aspect of the Qiyāma Proclamations. In almost all these cases, the emergence of the Qā'im was the process by which the hidden Imām revealed his identity and ended the era of *satr*. The only exception is the case of the Druze, in which a shift of hierarchies took place and the previous Imām-Qā'im (al-Ḥākim) was elevated to a new level as the representation of the Divine, and Ḥamza b. 'Alī took his position as the new Imām-Qā'im.
- The Qiyāma Proclamations were very mystical-oriented in nature. The idea of divine manifestation of God in the figure of the Qā'im, and the resurrection of the faithful's souls in the world of the Truth and Unity with God is very close to the concept of *waḥdat* in the teachings of Islamic mysticism. The emphasize on a personal search and the constant remembrance of God as a spiritual practice rather than a formal ritual during the Qiyāma era is a common feature in Islamic mysticism. These mystical aspects of the Qiyāma helped the Ismailis to ally themselves with the Sufis when they were under pressure and being prosecuted in later periods. Although in the cases of the Qarāmiṭa and the Druze which evolved in areas without a strong Shī'ī-Sufi presence, they either assimilated completely with the larger society like the Qarāmiṭa, or they became segregated completely from the neighbouring Muslim society and moved beyond the tenet of Islam (the Druze).
- The final observation regarding the four Ismaili Qiyāma declarations concerns the shared concepts and themes in their surviving literature. The emphasis on unveiling the Truth by the Proclamation of the Qiyāma through removing the barriers of signs and symbols can be found in the texts of the Proclamations in the Qarmaṭī, Druze and the Nizārī traditions. Although we are not aware of any doctrinal work produced in the Qarmaṭī state of Bahrain, the references in the *Rasā'il al-ḥikma* of the Druze concerning the Qarmaṭīs and their leaders prove that there was a strong ideological link between the Qarmaṭīs and the Druze.

Comparing the *Rasā'il* with Ḥasan 'Alā Dhikrihi al-Salām's writings and his *Fuṣūl* shows not only shared themes and concepts such as the Unity of God (*tawḥīd*), God's manifestation on earth and the virtuous life during the Qiyāma era, but also in their veneration for the Qā'im whom they referred to as “‘*alā dhikrihi al-salām*”, Peace be Upon His Mention.

Bibliography



Primary Sources

1. Al-Aflākī, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Manāqib al-ārifīn*, ed. Yazici Tahsin, 2 vol., Ankara, 1959.
2. Badakhshānī, Sayyid Suhrāb Walī, *Sī wa-shīsh ṣaḥīfa*, ed. Ujaqi Hushang, Tehran, 1961.
3. Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn, *al-Istidrākāt al-ba'th wa al-nushūr*, Compiled by 'Āmir Aḥmad Ḥaydar, Dār al-Fikr, Bairut, 1993.
4. al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, al-Qāhira, 1910.
5. Bin 'Alī, Ḥamza, al-Tamīmī Ismā'īl and al-Samūqī Bahā' al-Dīn, *Rasā'il al-ḥikma*, fifth Edition: 2 Vols., Hard Truth Series 7, Dār li'ajl al-Ma'rifa, 1986.
6. Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān, *Āthār al-bāqiya*, Persian trans. Akbar Dānā Sirisht, Amīr Kabīr Pub., Tehran, 1386/2007.
7. Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, Aḥmad b. Jalal al-Din Muḥammad, *Mujmal-i faṣīḥī*, ed. Farrukh Maḥmoud, 2 vols, Mashhad, 1339-1340 Hs/1960-1961.
8. Firishta, Muḥammad Qāsim HindūShāh Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i firishta*, ed. Briggs John, Mumbai, 1832.
9. Gīlanī, Mullā Shaykh 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Māzandarān*, ed. Sutūdeh, M., Tehran, 1352/1973.
10. Hafiz Abrū, 'Abdullāh b. Luṭf Allāh al-Bihdādīnī, *Majma' al- tawārīkh al-Sulāntiyya: qismat-i khulafā-i Alawiyya-yi Maghrib va Miṣr va Nizāriyān va rafīqān*, ed. Zanjānī M. Mudarrisī, Tehran, 1364 /1985.
11. Al-Ḥājib, Ja'far, *Sīra* in “*Mudhākīrāt fī Ḥarkat al-Mahdī al-Fātimī*”, ed. by W. Ivanow, Maṭba'at al-Ma'had al-Faransī li'l-Āthār al-Sharqīyya”, Cairo, 1939.
12. Ibn Ḥawqal, Muḥammad Abū'l-Qāsim, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Manshūrāt al-Dār al-Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, Bairut, 1979.
13. Herātī, Khayirkhwāh, *Faṣl dar bayān-i shinākht-i imām*, ed. Ivanow Wladimir, Tehran, 1960.

14. Ibn Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn, *al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh*, ed. al-Qāḍī 'Abdullāh, Bairut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyya, 1994.
15. Ibn al-Haytham, Abū 'Abdullāh, *Kitāb al-Munāẓarāt*, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker. trans. Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker. *The Advent of the Fatimids, A Contemporary Shī'i Witness*. London, 2000.
16. Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Tārīkh ibn Khaldūn*, 6 Vols., ed. Khalīl Shaḥāda & Suhayl Dhakār, Dār al-Fikr, Bairut, 2000.
17. Ibn 'Idhārī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Colin G. S. and Levi-Provencal E., Vol. 1, Dar al-Thaqafa, Beirut, 1983.
18. Idris, 'Imād al-Dīn, *'Uyūn al-akhbār wa-funān al-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, translated by Paul E. Walker and Maurice A. Pomerantz, *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yaman, The History of an Islamic Community*, Arabic Edition and English Summary of Volume 7 of Idris, 'Imād al-Dīn's *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, London, 2002.
19. _____, *'Uyūn al-akhbār wa-funān al-athār*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Dār al-Andalus, Bairut, 1975.
20. _____, *Zahr al-ma'ānī*, in "Ismā'īlī Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids" ed. & trans. Ivanow Wladimir, London, 1942.
21. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa Khillān al-Wafā', "*Risalat al-jamī'at al-jamī'a*", ed. By 'Arif Tamir, Dār al-Nashr al-Jāmi'yyīn, 1959/1378.
22. Ivanow, W, *Kalām-i pīr, (Kitāb-i Haft bāb)*, Muṣṭafā Publications, Bombay, 1352/1934.
23. _____. *Two Early Ismaili Treatises: Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā and Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*, ed. Wladimir Ivanow, Islamic Research Association [Series], no. . Bombay, .
24. _____. "An Ismaili poem in praise of Fidawis", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, The Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1938. - Vol. 14. - pp. 63 -72.
25. _____. *Nasir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Ismaili Society, series B, no 5, Ismaili Society, Bombay, 1948.
26. Juwaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik, *Tārīkh-i jahangushāy*, ed. Qazwīnī Mīrzā Muḥammad, 3 vols, Leiden, 1958.
27. Kāshānī, Abu al-Qasim, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh, bakhsh-i Fāṭimiyān wa Nizāriyān*, ed. Pazhūh M. T. Dānish, Mu'assisa-yi Muṭālī'āt wa Ṭḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, Tehran, 1366/1987.
28. Khwāndmīr, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. J. Humā'ī, Tehran, 1333 /1954.
29. al-Kirmānī, Hamīd al-Dīn, *Rāḥat al-'aql*, Ed by Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Dar al-Andulus, Beirut, Second edition, 1983.
30. Manṣūr al-Yaman, Abū al-Qāsim Ja'far b., *Kitab al-kashf*, Published for the I.R.A. by Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1952.

31. al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad, Cairo, 1387-1393/1967-1973.
32. Maqrīzī Aḥmad ibn `Alī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khitāt wa-al-āthār*, ed. Sayyid Ayman Fu'ād, Mu'assasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī, London, 2002.
33. ____, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān wa-Daylamistān*. ed. M. Sutūda. Tehran, 1347 Hs/1968.
34. Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, 2 Vol, Maṭba'a-yi Dawlatī, Kabul, 1342-43/1963-64.
35. Mīrkhwānd, Muḥammad b. Khwāndshāh, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, 10 vols. Tehran, 1338-1339 /1959-1960.
36. Munshī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥasan-i Maḥmūd, *Haft bāb-i Bābā Sayyidnā*, Ed by W. Ivanow, Bombay, 1352/1933.
37. _____. *Dīwān-i qā'imīyyāt*, ed. S. J. Badakhchani, Introduction by M. R. Shafī'ī Kadkanī, Mīrāth-i Maktūb Publication, Tehran, 1390 Hs/2011.
38. Muskūya, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū 'Alī, *Tajārib al-Umam*, ed. Hasan Sayyid Kasrawi, Vol. 4 : 6, Dar al-Kotob Al-Ilmiya, Beirut, 2003.
39. Mustawfī Qazwīnī, Ḥamd Allāh, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Navā'ī, A., Tehran, 1339 /1960.
40. ____, *Zafarnāma*, ed. N. Rastigar & Nasr Allah Purjawadi, facsimile, 2 vols, Tehran, 1377/1999.
41. Nafīsī, Sa'īd, *Muḥīṭ-i zindigī va aḥwāl va ash'ār-i Rūdakī*, Kitābkhāna-yi Ibn Sīnā Publication, Tehran, 1341/1962.
42. Nasawī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Sirat Jalal al-Din Munkabirni*, ed. Mīnuwī Mujtabā, Intisharat-i Ilmi Farhangī, Vol. 1, Tehran, 1384/2005.
43. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Ḥakīm Abū Mu'īn, *Dīwān-i ash'ār*, ed. Mujtabā Mīnuwī and Mahdī Muḥaqqiq, Tehran, 1357 /1978.
44. _____. *Gushāyish wa-rahāyish*, ed. Faquir M. Hunzai, trans. Faquir M. Hunzai, Knowledge and Liberation, A Treatise on Philosophical Theology, London, 1998.
45. ____, *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*, ed. Henry Corbin and Muḥammad Mu'īn. Tehran & Paris, 1953.
46. ____, *Khān al-ikhwān*, ed. Dr. Yaḥyā al-Khashāb, Maṭba'at al-Ma'had al-'Ilmi al-Faranci li Āthar al-Sharqiyya, Cairo, 1940/1359.
47. _____. *Safarnāmah*. ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī, Tehran, 1984.
48. _____. *Wajh-i dīn*, ed. Ghulām-Riḍā A'vānī, Tehran, 1977.
49. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Abū Ḥanīfa, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed. A. A. A. Fyze, 2 vols, Cairo, 1951-1956. English trans. A. A. A. Fyze, rev. I. K. Poonawala as *The Pillars of Islam*, 2 vols, New Dehli, 2002-2004.

50. ____, *Founding the Fāṭimid State, Iftitāḥ al-da'wa*, trans. Hamid Haji, I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2006.
51. Nizārī Quhistānī, Ḥakīm Sa'd al-Dīn, *Dīwān-i Ḥakīm Nizārī Quhistānī*, 2 vols, ed. Muṣaffā Mazāhir, Tehran, 1371/1992.
52. Nūrbakhsh, Sayyid Muḥammad, *Risāla al-hudā*, Persian trans. as “*Man Mahdī Hastam*”, by Rasūl Ja'fariyān, in *Kitābdārī, Ārshīv wa Nuskha Pazhūhī*, Autumn 1391/2012, 2nd Serī, Year 5, No. 17, pp. 697-712.
53. Nuwayrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb, *Nihāyat al-irab fī funūn al-adab*, 33 Vols, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥijāzī, Dār al-Kutub wa al-Withāq al-Qawmiyya, Cario, 1423/2002.
54. Qazwini, Ḥamd Allah Mustawfi, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. & trans. by Edward Granville Browne, Leiden, 1910-1913.
55. Quhistānī, Abū Ishāq, *Haft bāb*, ed. W. Ivanow, Ismaili Association Publications, Tehran, 1377/1957.
56. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh; qismat-i Ismā'īlīyān wa Nizārīyān wa dā'iyyān wa rafīqān*, ed. Rawshan M., Mīrāth-i Maktūb Pub., Tehran, 1387/2008.
57. Rūmī, Malwānā Jalāl al-Dīn, *Fīh mā fīh*, ed. Badī al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Amīr Kabīr Pub., Tehran, 1369/1990.
58. Sajistānī, Abū Ya'qūb, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, ed. Henry Corbin, Anjuman-i IrānShī'nāsī-yi Farānseh, Tehran, 1358/1979.
59. ____, *Kitāb al-iftikhār*, Ed by I. Q. Poonavalla, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, Bairut, 1980.
60. ____, *Kitāb al-iftikhār*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Bairut, Dār al-andalus, [1980-1988].
61. ____, *Ithbāt al-nubuwwa*, ed. Tāmir 'Ārif, Cathlic Publication, Bairut, 1966.
62. Samarqandī, Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, Asāṭīr Pub., Tehran, 1382/2003.
63. al-Shahrastānī, Abu al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm, *Kitāb al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, Persian trans., Afḍal al-Dīn Ṣadr Turka-yi Iṣfahānī, ed., Muḥammad Riḍā Jalālī Nā'īnī, Iqbāl, Tehran, 1350 Sh./1971
64. ____, *Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa maṣābīḥ al-abrār (Du maktūb)*, Ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Ādharshab, Nashr-i Mīrāth-i Maktūb, Tehran, 1387/2008.
65. ____, *Majlis-i maktūb mun'aqid dar Khwārazm*, Ed. Muḥammad R. Jalālī Nā'īnī, Nashr-i Nuqra, Tehran, 1369/1990.
66. Shīrazī, Quṭb al-Dīn, *Akhbār-i mughulān dar anbāna-yi Quṭb*, ed. Iraj Afshar, Mar'ashī Library Publication, Qum, 1389/2010.
67. al-Ṣūrī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan, *Risālah ismā'īlīyah wāḥidah: al-qaṣidah al-sūrīyah*, ed. Tāmir 'Ārif, al-Ma'had al-Faransī bi-Dimashq li al-Dirāsāt al-'Arabīyah, Dimashq, 1955.

68. Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-umam wa'l-mulūk*, 11 Vols. Ed. Muḥammad I. Abulfaḍl, Bairut, 1983.
69. ____, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āya'l-Qur'an*, 13 Vols. Ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Shākīr, Qairo, 1374-1388/1955-1969.
70. Ṭūsī, Khwāja Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsatnāmah (Siyar al-mulūk)*, ed. Ja'far Shi'ār, Kitābhā-yi Jībī Pub. Tehran, 1370/1991.
71. Ṭūsī, Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn, *Contemplation and Action, The Spiritual Autobiography of a Muslim Scholar*, A New Edition and English Translation of *Sayr wa sulūk* by S. J. Badakhshani, I. B. Tauris Publication, London. New York, in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies. London, 1999.
72. ____. *Maṭlūb al-mu'minīn*, ed. by W. Ivanow, Muṣaffarī Publications, Bombay, 1352/1933.
73. ____. *Paradise of Submission*, ed & tr. by Dr. Sayyed Jalal Hossaini Badakhshani, I.B. Tauris, in association with IIS, London, 2005.
74. Ṣaḥḥāḡ Gardīzī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī 'Abd al-Ḥayy, Tehran, 1347 /1968.

Secondary Sources

1. Abu Izzeddin, Nejla M., *The Druzes: a new study of their history, faith and society*, 2nd edition, E. J. Brill, Leiden/New York, 1993.
2. Amanat, Abbas, *Resurrection and Renewal, The making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844 – 1850*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1989.
3. Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad 'Alī, *The Divine Guide in Early Shī'ism, The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. D. Streight, Albany, New York, 1994.
4. Anṣārī Qumī, Ḥasan, “Kitābī az Abū Tammām Nayshābūrī, fīlsūf-i īrānī-yi nāshinākhtah”, *Nashr-i dānish*, Tehran, Summer 1380/2001, Year 18, 2. pp. 63-67.
5. Arjomand, Said A., ed. *Authority and Political Culture in Shī'ism*, Albany, New York, 1988.
6. ____. *The shadow of God and the hidden Imām*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, London, 1984.
7. Aslan Reza, *Zealot: The Life and Times of Jesus of Nazareth*, Saqi, 2013.
8. Babayan, Kathryn, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran. Cambridge, MA, 2002.
9. Bahār, Moḥammad T., *Sabkshināsī*, 2 vol., Amir Kabir pub., Tehran, 1370/1991.
10. Bayānī, Shī'rīn, *Dīn wa dawlat dar Irān-i-'ahd-i- mughul*, 2 vol, Markaz-i-Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, Tehran, 1371/1992.

11. Bayburdi, Chingiz Gulam-Ali, *Zindagī wa-āthār-i Nizārī*, trans. Mahnāz Sadri. Tehran, 1370 Hs/[1991].
12. _____. *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*, Oxford, 2005.
13. Berthels, A. and Bakoev, M., *Alphabetic Catalogue of Manuscripts found by 1959-1963* (Expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region), Nauka, Moscow, 1967.
14. Betts, Robert Brenton, *The Druze*, Yale University, New haven and London, 1998.
15. Bosworth, Charles E., "The Ismā'īlīs of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nimruz or Sistan", in *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*. ed. Farhad Daftary. Cambridge, 1996.
16. Brett, Michel, *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra*, Tenth Century Ce, BRILL, 2001.
17. Browne, Edward Granville. *A Literal History of Persia*. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1902-1924.
18. Campbell, Anthony, *The Assassins of Alamut*, Lulu.com, 2008.
19. Cole, Juan. *Sacred Space and Holy War, The Politics, Culture and History of Shī'ite Islam*, London, 2002.
20. Corbin, Henry, *Mundus Imaginalis or The Imaginary and The Imaginal*, Golgonooza Press Cambridge Drive, 1976.
21. _____. *Cyclical Time and Ismalili Gnosis*, Keagan Paul International in association with Islamic Publication, London, 1983.
22. _____. "The Ismā'īlī Response to the Polemic of Ghazali," in *Ismā'īlī Contributions to Islamic Culture*. ed. S. H. Nasr. trans. James W. Morris, 67-98. Tehran, 1977.
23. _____. *Temple and Contemplation*. trans. Philip Sherrard. London, 1986.
24. Cortese, D. *Arabic Ismā'īlī Manuscripts, The Zahid 'Alī Collection in the Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies*, London, I.B.Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2003.
25. _____. *Ismā'īlī and Other Arabic Manuscripts, A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of The Institute of Ismaili Studies*, London, I.B.Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2000.
26. Coulson N. J., *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1964.
27. Crone, Patricia and Hinds, Martin, *Gods' Caliph*, Cambridge 1986.
28. _____. *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, 2004.
29. Daftary, Farhad, *The Ismā'īlīs, their history and doctrines*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007.
30. _____. *Ismā'īlī Literature, A Bibliography of Sources and Studies*. I.B. Tauris Publishers, London, 2004.
31. _____. *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies: A Historical Introduction to an Islamic Community*, Volume 12 of Ismaili Heritage, I. B. Tauris, London, 2005.
32. _____. *The Assassin Legends, Myths of the Ismā'īlīs*, London, 1994.
33. Dāwarī, Riza, *Falsafa-yi Madanī-yi Fārābī*, Centre for Cultural Studies, Tehran, 1354/1976.

34. De Smet, D. *Les épîtres sacrées des Druzes: Rasā'il al-Ḥikma*, Leuven, MA: Peeters, Departement Oosterse Studies. Dudley, 2007.
35. Firro, Kais, *A History of the Druzes*, Vol. 1, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1992.
36. Fayzee, Asaf A.A., *Compendium of Fāṭimid Law*, Simla, 1969.
37. Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, Aḥmad b. Jalal al-Din. *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*. ed. Maḥmūd Farrukh. 2 vols. Mashhad, 1339-1340 /1960-1961.
38. Fidā'ī Khurasanī, Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, *Hidāyat al-Mu'minīn al-Ṭālibīn*. ed. A. Semenov. Moscow, 1959.
39. Firishta, Muḥammad Qāsim HindūShāh Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i Firishta* [a.k.a. Gulshan-i Ibrahimi]. ed. John Briggs. Mumbai, 1832.
40. Gardīzī ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Ṣaḥḥāk. *Zayn al-Akḥbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran, 1347 Hs/1968.
41. Ghalib, Mustafa, *A'lām al-Ismā'īliyya*. Beirut, 1964.
42. al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tusī. *Faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭiniyya wa-Faḍā'il al-Mustashirīyya*. ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī. Cairo, 1383/1964.
43. Gīlanī, Mullā Shaykh ʿAlī. *Tārīkh-i Māzandarān*. ed. M. Sutūdeh. Tehran, 1352 Hs/1973.
44. Goldziher, Ignac, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1981.
45. Guyard, Stanislas, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélīs texte publié pour la première fois avec une traduction complète et des notes*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1874.
46. Halm, Heinz, *The Empire of the Mahdī, The Rise of the Fatimids*, trans. M. Bonner, Leiden, 1996.
47. _____. *The Fāṭimids and their Traditions of Learning*, London, 1997.
48. _____. *Shī'ism*, trans. J. Watson and M. Hill. 2nd ed. Edinburgh, 2001.
49. al-Hamdani, Abbas. *The Fatimid Da'i al-Mu'ayyad, His Life and Work*, in *The Great Ismā'īlī Heroes*. Karachi, 1973.
50. Hamdani, Sumaiya, *Between Revolution and State*, I. B. Tauris Publishers in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, 2006.
51. Haqīqat, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *Tārīkh-i junbish-i Sarbidārān wa Junbishā-yi digar dar qarn-i hashtum-i hijrī*, Āzādandīshān publication, Tehran, 1360/1981.
52. al-Ḥamidī, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn. *Kanz al-Walad*. ed. Muṣṭafā Ghālib. Wiesbaden, 1391/ 1971.
53. Harātī, Khayrkhawāh, *Faṣl dar Bayān-i Shī'nākht-i Imām*, Ed. W. Ivanow, The Ismaili Association Publications, Tehran, 1338/1959.
54. _____. *Taṣnīfāt-i Khayrkhāh Harātī*, Ed. W. Ivanow, The Ismaili Association Publications, Tehran, 1939/1961.
55. Hāshimī Shāhrūdī, Mahmūd, *Farhang-i Fiqh Muṭābiq-i Madhhab-i Ahl-i Bayt*, Vol. 3, Da'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Fiqh-i Islāmī bar Madhhab-i Ahl-i Bayt, Tehran, 1387/2008.

56. Hijāb, Muḥammad Farīd, *Al-Falsafat al-Siyāsīyya 'inda al-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyyāt al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1982.
57. Hidāyat, Riḍā Qulī, Khān. *Majma' al-Fuṣṣḥā'*. ed. M. Muṣaffā. Tehran, 1336 HS/ 1957.
58. Hillenbrand, Carole. "The Power Struggle between the Saljuqs and the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt, 487-518/1094-1124, The Saljuq Perspective," in *Mediaeval Ismā'īlī History and Thought*. ed. Farhad Daftary. Cambridge, 1996.
59. Hitti, K. Philip. *Origin of the Druze People and Religion*, AMS Press. New York, 1966.
60. Hodgson, M. G. S. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 5, 422-482. Cambridge, 1968.
61. _____. *The Order of Assassins*. Mouton and Co, New York, 1980.
62. _____. *The Secret Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs Against the Islamic World*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005
63. Howorth, Henry H. *History of the Mongols, From the 9th to the 19th Century*. London, 1876-1927.
64. Hunsberger, Alice, *Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakhshan, A Portrait of the Persian Poet, Traveler and Philosopher*, I.B. Tauris London, New York, in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2000.
65. Al-Ḥusaynī, Pir Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh. *Kitāb-i Khīṭābāt-i 'Āliya*. ed. Hūshang Ujāqī. Mumbai, 1963.
66. Idleman Smith, Javan / Yazbeck Haddad, Yvonne, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.
67. Ivanow, Wladimir, *Alamut and Lamasar*. [Tehran], 1960.
68. _____. *A Guide to Ismā'īlī Literature*. London, 1933.
69. _____. *Ismā'īlī Literature, A Bibliographical Survey*, 2nd amplified ed. Tehran, 1963.
70. _____. *Ismā'īlī Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*. London, 1942.
71. _____. *Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography*. Mumbai, 1956.
72. Ja'frī, S. Husain M. *The Origins and Early Development of Shī'A Islam*. London 1979.
73. Ja'fariyān, Rasūl, *Ṣafawīyya dar 'Arṣah-yi Dīn, Farhang wa Siyāsāt*, 3 Vols., Ḥawza wa Dānishgāh Pub., Qum, 1379/2000.
74. Jamal, Nadia Eboo, *Surviving the Mongols, Nizari Quhistani and the Continuity of Ismā'īlī Tradition in Persia*. London, 2002.
75. Kennedy, Hugh. *The Early 'Abbasid Caliphate*. London. 1981.
76. Keddie, N. R., ed. *Religion and Politics in Iran, Shī'ism from Quietism to Revolution*. New Haven, 1983.
77. Klemm, Verena. *Memoirs of a Mission, The Ismā'īlī Scholar, Statesman and Poet al-Mu'ayyad fi-Dīn al-Shīrāzī*. London, 2003.

78. Lands, Richard, Gow Andrew and Van Meter David C., *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change*, Papers delivered at a conference held at the end of 1996, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.
79. Lev, Yaacov, *State and Society in Fāṭimid Egypt*, E.J Brill, Leiden, New York, Kobenhavn, Köln, 1991.
80. Lewis, Bernard, *The Assassins, A Radical Sect in Islam*, London, 1967.
81. _____. *The Origins of Ismā'īlism, A Study of the Historical Background of the Fatimid Caliphate*. New York, 1975.
82. Madelung, Wilferd, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*, London, 1985.
83. ____, *The Succession to Muḥammad, A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997.
84. ____, "The Fatimids and the Qarmatis of Bahrain" in *Medival Ismaili History and Thoughts*, ed. Farhad Daftary, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.
85. Makarem, Sami Nasib, *The Druze Faith*, Caravan Books, 1974.
86. Mir-Kasimov, Orkhan, *Unity in Diversity: mysticism, messianism and the construction of religious authority in Islam*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2013.
87. Mitha, Farouk, *Al-Ghazali and the Ismā'īlīs, A Debate on Reason and Authority in Medieval Islam*, London, 2001.
88. Mudarris Raḍawī, Muḥammad Taqī, *Aḥwāl wa Āathār-i Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Tūsī*, Tehran, 1354/1975.
89. ____, *Majmū'a-yi Rasā'il-i Khwāja Naṣīr*, Tehran University Press, Tehran, 1335 / 1956.
90. Naba'i, Abulfaḍl, *Tārīkh-i Nihḍat-hā-yi Siyāsī wa Madhhabī-i Iran*, Ferdowsi University Press, Mashhad, 1376/1997.
91. Nanji, Azim, *The Nizari Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, Delmar, New York, 1978.
92. Newman, Andrew, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism*, Richmond, Surrey, 2000.
93. Obeid, Anis, *The Druze and Their Faith in Tawhid*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 2006.
94. Petrushevsky, I. P., *Islām dar Iran*, Persian translation by Karim Kishāwarz, Intishārāt-i Payām, Tehran, 1351/1972.
95. Poonawala, I.K, *Bibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature*, G.E. von Grunebaum Centre, University California, Los Angeles, Studies in Near Eastern Culture and Society, Malibu, CA. Undena Publications, 1977.
96. Rajput, A. M., *Hasan-i-Sabbah: His life and thought*. Xlibris, 2013.
97. Sachedina, Abdulaziz Abdulhussein, *The Just Ruler in Shī'ite Islam*, The Comprehensive Authority of the Jurist in Imāmite Jurisprudence, New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988.
98. ____, *Islamic Messianism, The Idea of Mahdī in Twelver Shī'ism*, Albany, NY, 1981.
99. Schacht, Joseph, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964.

100. _____. *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, A Search for Salvation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2007.
101. Sākit, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Shīwāyī wa shaydāyī*, Intishār Pub., Tehran, 1386/2007.
102. Shayegan, D, Hanry Corbin: *Āfāq-i tafakkur-i ma'nawī dar Islām-i Īrānī*, trans. B. Parhām, Nashr-i Farzān-i Rūz, Tehran, 1373/1994.
103. Surūsh, 'Abd al-Karīm, *Qabḍ wa baṣṭ-i ti'urīk-i Sharī'at*, Şirāt Publications, Tehran, 1369/1990.
104. ____, *Şirāṭhā-yi mustaqīm*, Şirāt Publications, Tehran, 1388/2009.
105. Tucker, William F., *Mahdīs and Millenarians: Shī'ite extremists in early Muslim Iraq*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008.
106. Virani, Shafique N, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, a Search for Salvation*, Oxford University Press, 2007.
107. Walker, E. Paul, *Abū Ya'qūb Sijistānī: Intellectual Missionary*, London & New York, I. B. Tauris, 1996.
108. Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad, The study of the early Caliphate*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
109. Yücesoy, Hayrettin, *Messianic Beliefs and Imperial Politics in Medieval Islam: The 'Abbasid Caliphate in the Early Ninth Century*, *Studies in comparative religion*, University of South Carolina Press, 2009.

Articles

1. Alexandrin, Elizabeth R., "Al-Mu'ayyad's Concept of the Qa'im: A Commentary on the Khutbat al-Bayān," *Ishraq*, 4 (1203): 294-303.
2. Anṣārī Qumī, Ḥasan, "Kitābī az Abū Tammām Nayshābūrī, fīlsūf-i īrānī-yi nāshinākhtah", *Nashr-i Dānish*, Year 18, Summer 1380, No. 2, pp. 63-67
3. Boyle, John Andrew. "The Death of the Last 'Abbasid Caliph, A Contemporary Muslim Account." *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 6 (1961).
4. Cortese, Delia, The Ismā'īlī Resurrection of Alamūt: A Bid for Spiritual Awakening or a Statement of Political Authority, Paper at *Resurrection Conference*, University of Roehampton, London, 1999.
5. Hajnal, Istvan. "On the History of the Ismā'īlī Hidden Imāms as Reflected in the Kitāb al-Tarātīb al-Sab'a, *The Arabist, Budapest Studies in Arabic* (Essays in Honour of Alexander Fodor on his Sixtieth Birthday) 23 (2001), 101-116.
6. Hamdani A. and F. de Blois, A Re-examination of al-Mahdī's Letter to the Yemenites on the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs, [Journal] *JRAS*. (1983), pp. 173-207.

7. al-Hamdani, Husain F, "Some Unknown Ismā'īlī Authors and Their Works", *JRAS* (1933), 359-378.
8. _____. "An Ismā'īlī Interpretation of the Gulshan-i Raz", *JBBRAS* NS, 8 (1932), 69-78.
9. _____. "Kamal al-Dīn's Biography of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān", *Arabica* 13, no. 3 (1966).
10. Hidayat, Hosain M., "An Ismā'īlī Interpretation of the Gulshan-i Raz", *JBBRAS*, 8 (1932), pp. 69-78.
11. Hodgson, Marshall G. S., "Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* [s.l.], American Oriental Society, Vol. 82, (1962), pp. 5-20.
12. Ivanow, W., "An Ismaili poem in praise of Fidawis", in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 14, (1938) pp. 63 -72.
13. Jambet, Christian, "La Grande résurrection d'Alamūt. Les formes de la liberté dans le shī'isme ismaélien", *Verdier, Lagrasse*, (1990), 418 p.
14. Mo'izzi, Maryam, "Bāznigārī dar rawābiṭ-i Ismā'īlīyān va mulūk-i Nīmruz bar asās-i matnī naw-yāfta", in *Muṭālī'āt-i Tārīkh-i Islām*, Y. 2, No. 6, Tehran, 1389/2010.
15. Nanji, Azim, "Ismā'īlism" in *Islamic Spirituality, Foundations*, ed., S. H. Nasr, London, (1987), pp. 179-198.
16. _____. "An Ismā'īlī Theory of Walayah in the Da'ā'im al-Islām of Qāḍi al-Nu'mān", in *D.P. Little*, ed., *Essays on Islamic Civilization presented to Niyazi Berke*, Leiden, (1976), pp. 260-273.
17. Nomoto, Shin, "An Early Ismā'īlī-Shī'ī Thought on the Messianic Figure (the Qā'im) according to al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/933-4)" *Orient* [0473-3851], vol: 44 (2009), pp. 19 -39.
18. O'Connor, Kathleen Malone, "The Islamic Jesus: Messiahhood and Human Divinity in African American Muslim Exegesis", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Oxford University Press, 3, Vol. 66, (1998), pp. 493-532.
19. Petrushevsky, I. P. "The Socio-Economic Conditions of Iran under the Il-Khans," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 5, (1968), Cambridge, pp. 484-488.
20. Pourjavady. N and Wilson. P.L. "Ismā'īlīs and Ni'matullahis", *Studia Islamica*, 41 (1975), pp. 113-135.
21. Riḍā, Rashīd, "Ra'yihī fī ḥikmat al-taklīf wa radd shubahāt al-bāṭiniyya", *Al-Manār*, Vol. 8, No. 11, (1287/1870), pp. 601-608.
22. Stern, S.M., The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxiana, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, University of London, Vol. 23, (1960- 1), pp. 56-90.
23. Virani, Shafique, "The Right Path: A Post-Mongol Persian Ismaili Treatise." *Iranian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2, (2010), pp. 197-221.

24. _____, 'The Eagle Returns, Evidence of Continued Ismā'īlī Activity at Alamut and in the South Caspian Region following the Mongol Conquests', in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 123, No. 2 (2003), pp. 351-370

Dissertations

1. Badakhchani, S. J. Hosseini. "*The Paradise of Submission*", PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1989.
2. Bashir, Shahzad, *Between Mysticism and Messianism, The Life and Thought of Muḥammad Nurbaksh (d. 1464)*, PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1997.
3. Cortese, Delia, *Eschatology and Power in Mediaeval Persian Ismā'ilism*, PhD dissertation, University of London, 1993.
4. Keshavjee, Rafique, *The Quest for Gnosis and the Call of History, Modernisation among the Ismā'ilīs of Iran*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Harvard, 1981
5. Mu'izzī, Maryam, *Ismā'īlīyān-i Badakhshān*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Danishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa 'Ulūm-i Insānī, Tehran University, 1381/2002
6. _____. "*Ismā'īlīyān-i Irān*." MA thesis, Danishgah-i Firdawsī, 1371-1372 Hs/1992-1993.
7. Momen, Moojan, *An Introduction to Shī'ite Islam*, The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shī'ism, United States, Yale University Press, 1985.
8. Simonowitz. David, *On the Cutting Edges of Dhu'l-Fiqār, Authority and the Discourse of Architecture in the Musta'li-Tayyibi and Nizari Communities*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, UCLA, 2004.
9. Virani, Shafique, *Seekers of Union, The Ismā'ilīs from the Mongol Debacle to the Eve of the Safavid Revolution*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 2001.
10. Ward, L. J., *The Ṣafar-nāmah of Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufi and the Il-Khān dynasty of Iran*, Ph.D. thesis, 3 vols., University of Manchester, 1983.

Manuscripts

1. MS B50, dated 1121/1709, private collection in Badakhshan.
2. MS B64, dated 875/1470 private collection in Badakhshan.
3. MS BQ, dated 1292/1875 private collection in Badakhshan.

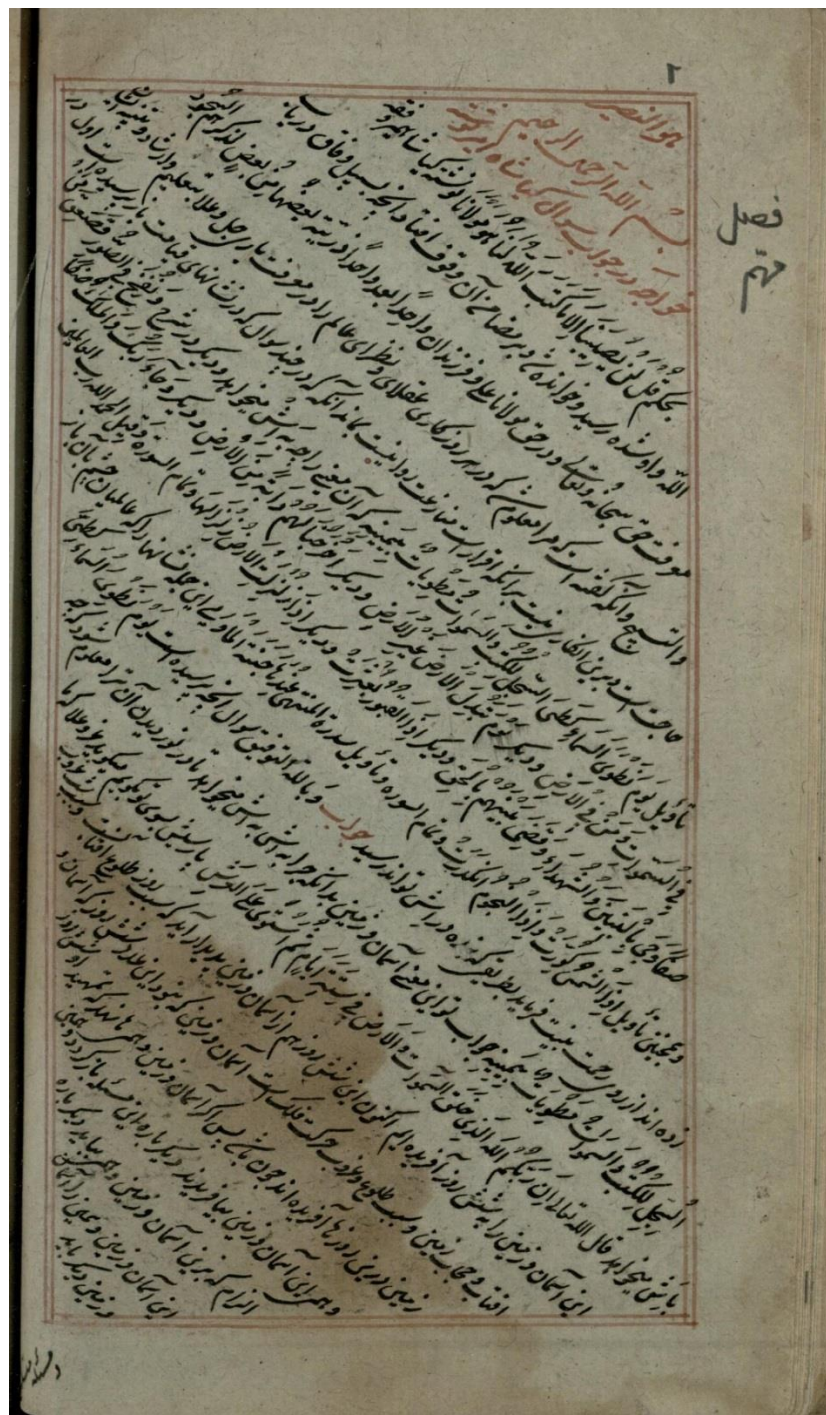
4. MS DR (No. 91187) No date, Druze Rasā'il, Tehran University.
5. MS Per. 32, 20th century, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London.
6. MS M (Ma'ṣūm) dated 1059/1649 personal collection.
7. MS Per. 823, dated 1305/ 1888, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London
8. MS No. 15034, in the Institute of Ismaili Studies Library, London.
9. MS P1, dated 1271/1854 in Mr. Pedram private collection, Iran.
10. MS P3, dated 1297/1880, in Mr. Pedram private collection, Iran.
11. MS T. (No. 8211), dated 1180/1766, Tehran University Iran.
12. MS Y. Yahn, (11th century) private collection.
13. MS OR2833, *Ẓafar-Nāmah* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, British Library, dated 807/1405.

Image 1

۱۲۷

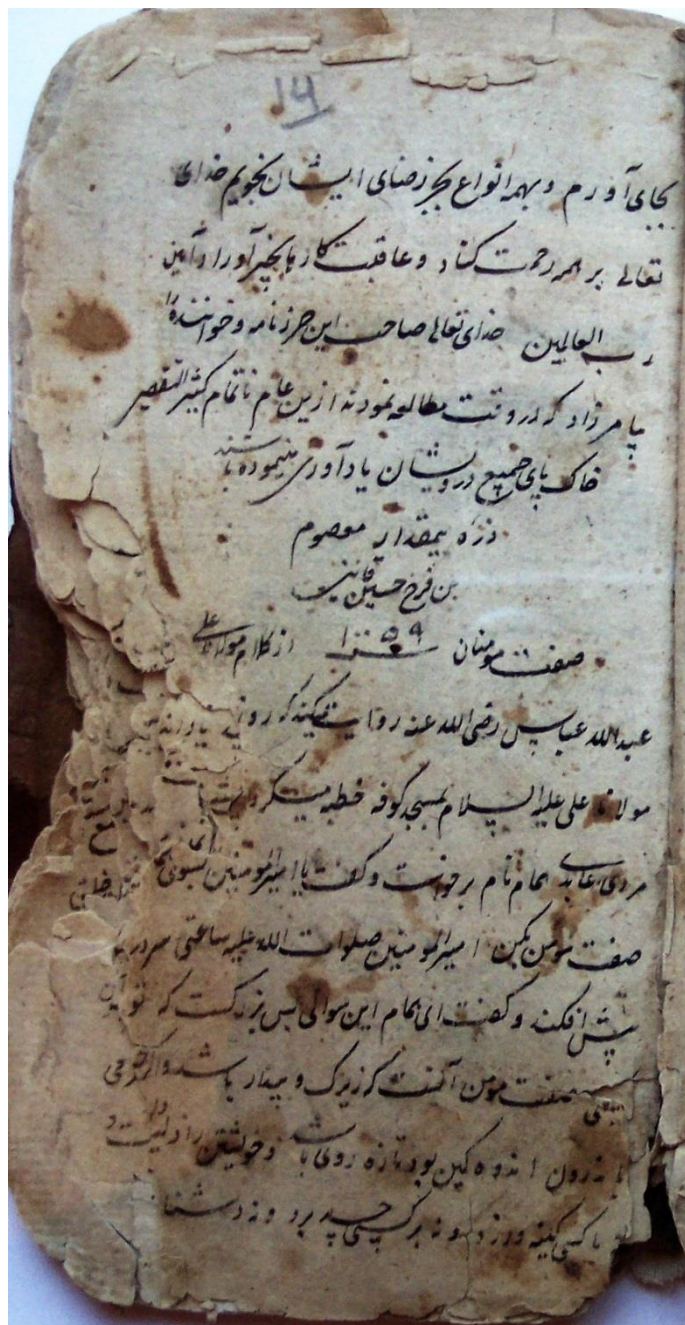
مغرب بآید و میان آسمان و زمین و در اینجا باز کردم
 و در مغرب فرو رود تا دیگر گرت که از شرق برآید
 و هر که ذکر خوشه قیامت ببرد باین عبارت امام را
 خواند تا معلوم شود که باشد آن بود که مولانا مهدی از
 مغرب ظهور کرد تا بحواله بغداد که میان عالم است
 بگفت و بیشتر این در این باب آمده است حنیف
 فی الکلیله فی الحکمة و فی التخصیص بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
 و شمس قزوین ههنا هم علیه السلام و مستقیم
 شمس معلوم است که از وقت بعثت تا باین غایت
 متابعت در راه آخرت از قرآن و احکام که
 کسی بوده است اول می باید که معلوم باشد که اتفاق

Image 2



The opening page of Ḥasan II's letter from the only copy in Tehran University, MS T (8211).

Image 3

Final page of *Jangnāmah-yi Sīstān* from MS M dated 1059/1649.

Appendix 1: Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ's Letter to the Scholars of Qazwīn

دانشمندان قزوین هداهم الله الى صراط المستقيم،

بحکم «قُلْ لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا هُوَ مَوْلَانَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ»¹ (التوبه: 51)، جماعت دانشمندان قزوین! «هداهم الله الى السماء الصراط وجميعهم على كلمه التقوى» شما را معلوم است که از وقت بلوغیت² تا باین غایت متابعت در راه آخرت از قرآن و اخبار کم کسی را بوده است³. و درین مدت ده پانزده سال سیزده کرت بادیه حجاز بریده‌ام و رنجهای بسیار در پیش گرفته‌ام و بترک لذات و شهوات در مقام گاه نزهت که «ومساكن نرضونها» (9:24) از روی این تهدید و احتراز ازین وعید که «فترتبوا حتى يأتي الله بأمره» (9:24) بتحصيل «ان وعدك [حق]» (11:45) «ومن اراد الآخرة وسعى لها سعيها وهو مؤمن فأولئك كان سعيهم مشكورا» (17:19)؛ و دیگر آنکه «ومن يخرج من بیتی مهاجراً الى الله ورسوله ثم يديره الموت فقد وقع أجره على الله» (4:100)، تا بآن حد راغب موت شدم و قدم در آن جاده نهادم که «ان نرعمتم انكم اولياء الله من دون الناس فتمنوا الموت ان كنتم صادقين» (62:6) که چون رنجی هامی رسد که در شرف هلاکت نزدیک بود، چنان دل خوش و راضی شده بودم که ذره [ای] اندیشه در دل من راه نمی‌یافت. مقصود ازین قصه که چون بجانب جیلان می‌رفتم محسور و ملحق به دو قوم از متبعان و متعلقان آن طایفه محقه شدم، و از روی متعادلّت و حقد⁴ قدیم که بالله الطالب الغالب⁵ که باکراه درایشان مینگریدیم و مدت چند ماه به ایشان در طریق مناظره در مواجهه و مجاهده و مجادله کار می‌فرمودیم، تا آن وقت که یقین بدانستم که در دریای ضلالت مستغرق شده‌ام. مرا دستگیری کردند و از حیرت ظلمت برانگیختند، با فضای نور الهی که «الله ولی الذين آمنوا يخرجهم من الضلمات الى النور» (2:257) رسانیدند. شمه‌ای از آن چه معتقد است مقیم داشته آید تا آنچه ایشانرا بعد از وقوف در مضامن آن برآی آید بجواب نوشتم تا دانند که از بصیرت تمام پای از سر سبیل اکفی برداشتند و بر سبیل آن شد تمسیت کردن [؟] که «تمسیت بالله تعالی» آنه هوالموفق والمعین.⁶

¹ Missing in P1.

² In MS T: “از وقت تا به این غایت”

³ In MS T: “مبالغت در آخرت چندانکه مرا بوده است از قرآن و اشکال کم کسی را بوده است”

⁴ In the text, “خفد”

⁵ This seems to be part of a text for swearing in new converts into Islam.

⁶ The meaning of the last sentence is not clear. In the “P1” copy, this part after the first Āyat till here is missing.

اول می باید که معلوم باشد که اتفاق است میان این طایفه و دیگر طوایف مختلفه و اختلاف است. اول در آنچه اتفاق است شروع کنیم.

ما می گوئیم⁷ خدای هست و جمله طوایف مختلفه بر این مقرند. و می گوئیم یکی است و هم بر این اتفاق است میان هر دو طایفه. می گوئیم که این خدای یگانه را بیاید شناختن، و در معرفت هم اتفاق است. و به عقل و نظر بیاید شناختن که بر بی خردی گاوری دانه بنشاید دانستن. تا به این جا میان ما و ایشان اتفاق است. آنچه خلاف است میان این⁸ جماعت و ایشان این است که ما می گوئیم عاقل و ناظر را با عقل و نظر در معرفت خدای - عز و علا - به تعلیم⁹ حاجت است به قول خدای عز و علا. و این قول خدای در هر روزگاری خلیفه او - جل و علا - به خلق رساند:

أَنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً كَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا فِيكَ رَسُولًا مِّنْكُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْكُمْ آيَاتِهِ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُم مَّا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ. (بقره: 30)

و آن حکمت این است که «ادعُ الی سبیل ربِّک بالحکمه والموعظه الحسنه فجادلهم بالتی احسن.» (نحل: 125)

پس تقریر می کنم که بر ما و بر همه خلق واجب است که در این حکمت¹⁰ که طریق معرفت است به فرمان خدای از خلیفه خدای که رهنمای قوم هر روزگاری است قبول کردن:

«انْتَ مَنذُورٌ وَلِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ» (رعد: 7) تا به قول خدای، خدای را شناخته باشند تا معرفت هم از خدای حاصل شده باشد:

«قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ. اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ. لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.» «وَأَنَا اخْتَرْتُكَ فَاسْتَمِعْ لِمَا يُوحَىٰ إِنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا.» (طه: 14)

سخن این طایفه محقق در معوقت حق سبحانه و تعالی بر این موجب است. و معتقد طوایف مختلفه هاهم گرفته بر این موجب است که حق سبحانه ما را بیافرید، سر و چشم و دل و خرد هاداد¹¹ و راه و چاه باز نمود تا در آسمان نگریم¹² و در زمین نگریم و در گونه گونه خلقان و خدای را بشناسیم. و در خدای شناسی به پیغمبر خدا که خلیفه خداست حاجت است. در تنگنای که آورده است؟¹³ اکنون از این دو قسمت بیرون نیست، اگر خدایی خدا خردمندان را به این طریق حاصل می آید که در آسمان و زمین نگرند و گویند این خلق را خالق هست، ما را هم چشم نیز ندوخته اند، از این نظرمان باز نداشته، در آسمان و زمین نگریم، بدانستیم که این صنع را صانع هست. پس به فتوای ایشان خداشناس باشیم. آنان

⁷ In MS T: "اما می گویم".

⁸ MS T: "آن"

⁹ MS T: "بقول خدای عز و علا حاجت است"

¹⁰ MS P1: "محکمه"

¹¹ MS P1: "داد"

¹² MS T: "بینیم"

¹³ MS T: "و نه بکتاب که آورده است"

که دشمنی خداشناسان کنند خداشناس و کافر باشند. به این موجب، فتوای ایشان در خداشناسی انکار بر این طایفه محقه عارفه اسماعیلیه نتواند کردن، و این طایفه بر ایشان انکار توانند کرد.

و به دیگر قسمت که خداشناسی به قول خدا حاصل آید و آن قول خدا، محقّ روزگار به مردم رساند و بر خردمندان واجب است آن قول در توحید او تعالی قبول کردن. این خود مذهب طایفه محقه است. پس به هر دو قسمت و مقالت - مقالات محقه و مقالات مبطله - محقی^{۱۴} این جماعت در معرفت ربّ العزّه انکار نتوانند کردن. چون محقی این طایفه محقه به هر دو مقالت معین و مبرهن است کدام محق باشد از این معین تر.

آنچه خصمان این جماعت بازمی گویند که این جماعت می گویند که^{۱۵} آنچه خردمندان بدانند که خدای هست یا از پغمبران صادق بشنوند، کلاً و حاشا که این جماعت این نگویند که می گویند در هستی حق سبحانه و تعالی به تعلیم معلّم حاجت است. به حکم این آیه که:

وَلَنْ سَأَلْتَهُمْ مَنْ خَلَقَكُمْ لِيَقُولَنَّ اللَّهُ (زخرف: 78) تَعَالَوْا إِلَى كَلِمَةٍ سَوَاءٍ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ. (آل عمران: 64) الی آیه^{۱۶} «فاطر السموات والارض»^{۱۷}.

که آنچه سخن خلاف دران نیست [انکار] کردن روا نیست. اما آنچه خلاف در آن است، آن است که ثنوی که به یزدان و اهرمن گوید می داند که خدای هست. اما او را اعتقاد آن است که دو است. حق جلّ علا نفی آن می فرماید:

«لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْهَيْهَاتَيْنِ». (نحل: 51)

و بعضی می گویند خدای هست اما سه است: «لَا تَقُولُوا الثَّلَاثَةَ». (النساء: 171)

و بعضی گویند آفتاب و ماهتاب است که: «لَا تَسْجُدُوا لِلشَّمْسِ وَلَا لِلْقَمَرِ»^{۱۸}. (فصلت: 37)

و بعضی گویند خدایان است: «أمر بآبُ مَتَفَرَّقُونَ أَمَ اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدَ الْقَهَّارُ». (یوسف: 39)

و علی هذا داخل اسلام همه می دانند که خدای هست. اما یکی گوید دیدنی است و یکی گوید نادیدنی است. یکی گوید آن است که بر عرش است. یکی گوید آن است که بر فرش است. یکی گوید آن است که نیک و بد از اوست، و یکی گوید

¹⁴ MS P1: “بر محقّ”

¹⁵ In MS P1 the sentence starts after the second “آنچه”

¹⁶ MS T “آله”

¹⁷ In MS P1 “فاطر السموات والارض” does not exist. It should refer to the Ayat 46, Zumur: قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ فَاطِرَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ غَالِمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ أَنْتَ تَحْكُمُ بَيْنَ عِبَادِكَ فِي مَا كَانُوا فِيهِ يَخْتَلِفُونَ.

¹⁸ In both copies: “ولا تتخذوا الشمس والقمر”

آن است که نیک از اوست و بد از خلق. و یکی گوید از افعال نیک و بد منزّه است. اکنون همه می دانند که خدای هست. هیچ کس نمی گوید که خدای نیست. پس خلاف نه اینجاست که هست و نیست، که خدای را به خدای می دارند(؟). اکنون چون در معرفت، این خلاف با دیدار^{۱۹} آمد تقریر می کنیم که حاکمی باید و این حاکم خود خدا است^{۲۰} تعالی و تقدّس. کما قال الله تعالی: «أَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا»^{۲۱}. و از قبل او تعالی مبلّغ آن کتاب که قول اوست عزّ و علا:

يَحْكُمُهَا النَّبِيُّونَ. (مائده: 44)

نور و کتاب مبین یدهی بها الله. (مائده: 15)

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ. (مائده: 67)

شهد الله أنه لا اله الا هو. (آل عمران: 18)

می گوئیم بر ما و جمله عاقلان و ناظران عالم واجب است این گواهی حق سبحانه و تعالی در معرفت او تعالی از خلیفه او تعالی قبول کردن و به قول خدای، خدای را شناختن. و در کلّ عالم از مشرق و مغرب، بیرون از این طایفه محقه کسی دیگر را این دعوی^{۲۲} و دعوت نیست. «والحمد لله الذي حبانا بدینه واختصنا بملئته، وسبلنا في سبل احسانه، بفضله وطوله»^{۲۳} آنکس که خدای بشناخت که آفریدگار روزی دهنده اوست به هیچ روی او را با کنار نهد و دیگری را می نپرستد.^{۲۴} این جماعت به حجّت بالغه خدایی با همه عاقلان و ناظران عالم بدرست کرده باشند که از جمله خلق خداشناس و خداخوان و خدادان^{۲۵} این جماعت اند. و دیگران را هم به حجّت بالغه خدای بدرست کرده باشند که نه خدای را می شناسند و نه خدای را می خوانند.^{۲۶} چه گویی که خداشناس این جماعت باشند؟ خداپرست آنان باشند که خدای را خود شناسند؟ چنانچه در پیش برفت که بفتوی هر دو مقالات، محقه و مبطله را انکار بمعرفت این طایفه محقه در همه جهان کسی نتواند کردن که اگر برغم شما مسلم دارند که خداشناسی خدا بمجرد نظر هر ناظری است، کسی را برین جماعت چه انکار که این جماعت نیز ناظراند. پس مسلم دارند که چون خلاف میان ناظران در شناخت حق سبحانه و تعالی واقع گشت از حاکم ناگزیر است و این حاکم حق سبحانه و تعالی است^{۲۷}: إِنْ الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ (الانعام: 57) و از قبل آن در میان خلق پیغمبر

¹⁹ In MS P1 “پدیدار”

²⁰ In MS P1 “نیست”

²¹ MS T “انت”

²² MS P1 “دعوا”، in MS T “دعوت”

²³ From “حبانا” to the end, only in MS T. It is part of the Imām Sajjād’s prayer on the occasion of Ramaḍān.

²⁴ MS P1 “می پرستد”

²⁵ MS P1 “خلایق عالم خداشناسی و خدادانی ...”

²⁶ MS T “می خواهند”

²⁷ MS P1 “و این حاکم حقیقی است”.

هر دوری، و امام وقت که محق وقت و رهنمای قوم هر روزگاری است که درین معرفت یاور او^{۲۸} گردند و بقول حق سبحانه و تعالی و خلیفه او که رساننده قول اوست خدا را بشناسند. و این اختلاف بحکم ایشان « فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِي مَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِّمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا » (النساء: 65). و درین مشاجرت بتسلیم بخدا و خلیفتش بازگذارند. دیدار است که این مذهب کیست. و چون درست شد که به برهان قاطعه خدای و حجت بالغه الهی « وَبِكَ حُجَّتْنَا أَيْتَاهَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَىٰ قَوْمِهِ نَرْفَعُ دَرَجَاتٍ مِّنْ نَّشَأٍ » (انعام: 83) که این طایفه محقه خداشناس بحقیقت اند^{۲۹} و بهمه حال خداپرست بحقیقت همین جماعت باشند: « أَفَمَنْ يَهْدِي إِلَى الْحَقِّ أَحَقُّ أَنْ يُتَّبَعَ أَمَّنْ لَا يَهْدِي إِلَّا أَنْ يُهْدَىٰ ۚ فَمَا لَكُمْ كَيْفَ تَحْكُمُونَ ». (یونس: 35)

توقع آن است که این شرح از سر انصاف و اتفاق خالصاً بوجه الله الکریم تأمل کنند و آنچه ایشان را [برای]^{۳۰} آید بر سبیل ارادت و استفادت جواب شافی بنویسند. اگر در مذهب ایشان راه آن بدهد که درین طریق شوند و جواب نویسند، خدای تعالی یاری کناد و اهل حق را نصرت دهداد و مستضعفان را از وسواس « الَّذِي يُوسُوسُ فِي صُدُورِ النَّاسِ، مِنَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ » (الناس: 6) خلاصی دهداد.

بمنه و طوله. علی ما یشاء قدیر و عبادہ خبیر. الله بس و مابقی هوس. والسلام.

²⁸ In MS T “با در آن”.

²⁹ MS T “درست گشته باشد”

³⁰ MS T “برش”

Appendix 2: *Hasan II's Letter to Kiyā Shāh-i Amīr*

هو النصير

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم^۱

خواجه در جواب سؤال كياشاه امير نوشته.

بحکم «لن یصینا الا ما کتب الله لنا هو مولانا» (9:51)، نوشته كيا شاه امير وفقه الله داده شده، رسیده و خوانده شد، و بر مضامن آن وقوف افتاد. آنچه به سبیل وفاق در باب معرفت حق سبحانه و تعالی در حق مولانا علی و فرزندان واحداً بعد واحداً: «ذمیه بعضها من بعض» (3:34) لذكرهم السجود و التسبیح و آنکه گفته است که مرا معلوم شد که در هر روزگاری عقلای و نظرای عالم را در معرفت باری جل و علی به تعلیم و ارشاد و تنبیه ایشان حاجت است و بر این انکاری نیست. بر آنکه اقرار است منازعت روا نیست. بماند آنچه که^۲ در چند سؤال که در نشانهای قیامت باز پرسیده است.

اول در تأویل «یوم تطوی السماء کطی السجل للکتب». (39:67) «و السموات مطویاتٌ بيمينه» (29:104) که آن معنی را چه بآش میخواهد. و دیگر در شرح «ونفخ فی الصور فصعق من فی السموات و من فی الارض» (27:82)، و دیگر «یوم تبدل الارض غیر الارض» (14:48)، و دیگر «اخرجنا لهم دابة من الارض» (27:82)، و دیگر «وجاء ربک والملك صفّاً صفّاً» (89:22)، و جای بالنبین والشهداء وقضى بينهم بالحق وهم لا یظلمون (39:69)، و دیگر «اذا القیوم بعثت» (82:4)، و دیگر «اذا نزلت الارض نزلت اهلها» (99:1)، و تمام السوره و قبل الحمد لله رب العالمین. همچنین تأویل «اذا الشمس کورت و اذا النجوم انکدرت» (81:2) و تمام السوره. و تأویل: سدمره المنتهی، عندها جنة المأوی (53:15). این جمله نشانهها را که عالمیان چشم به آن باز زده اند از روی رحمت بینت فرمایند به طریقی که بنده دراش تواند رسید.

جواب. وبالله التوفیق.

¹ In the actual text, after this, the attribution to Tūsī comes as: خواجه در جواب كياشاه امير نوشته

² In the text: آنکه که

سؤال: آنچه پرسیده است «يَوْمَ نَطْوِي السَّمَاءَ كَطَيِّ السِّجِلِّ لِلْكُتُبِ» «وَالسَّمَوَاتِ مَطْوِيَاتٍ بِيَمِينِهِ».

جواب: تو این معنی آسمان و زمین بدانکه چرا به اش میخواند تا در نوردیدن آن ترا معلوم شود که چه باش میخواهد. قال الله تعالى «إِنَّ رَبَّكُمُ اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ اسْتَوَى عَلَى الْعَرْشِ» (10:3). پارسیش بسوی تو بگویم. میگوید - عز و علا - که ما این آسمان و زمین را به شش روز آفریده ایم. اکنون این شش روز هم از آسمان و زمین پدیدار آید که سبب روز طلوع آفتاب است و سبب شب غروب آفتاب و حجاب زمین. و و سبب طلوع و غروب حرکت فلک است. آسمان و زمین که نبود. این عدد شش روز که آسمان و زمین درین روزها آفریده اند چون باشد؟ پس اگر آسمان و زمین وهمی هانهد که تمهید او شش روز وهمی این آسمان و زمین بیافرینند، دیگر باره این مسئله بازگردد. و همین الزام که برین آسمان و زمین وهمی بیاید دیگر باره این آسمان و زمین وهمی^۲ را آسمان و زمین دیگر باید. مسئله متسلسل شود و بفیصل نرسد. و ازینجا محال لازم آید. نه که این تنزیل قرآنرا تأویلی هست «وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَالرَّاسِخُونَ فِي الْعِلْمِ» (3:7). و تأویل بیرون حق سبحانه و تعالی و راسخان در علم کسی دیگر نتواند. از اینجاست که اشارت میفرماید «فَسْأَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ» (16:43). اهل الذکر را معین باز کرده: «أَتُمْهِنُونَ بِأَمْرِنَا وَأَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ» (21:73)، و در شأن ایشان فرموده است گفتن «بَلْ هُوَ آيَاتٌ بَيِّنَاتٌ فِي صُدُورِ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ» (29:49)، و هر یک از ایشان رهنمای قوم هر روزگاری: «أَمَّا أَنْتُمْ فَادْعُوا كُلَّ قَوْمٍ بِمَا هَادَىٰ» (13:7). ایشان از حقایق گویند. اما عوام که اهل ظاهر تنزیل قرآن اند هم براین تنزیل قرآن تصور کنند. و در ظاهر تنزیل میفرماید عز و علا: «قُلْ مَنْ أَنْزَلَ الْكِتَابَ الَّذِي جَاءَ بِهِ مُوسَىٰ نُورًا وَهُدًى لِلنَّاسِ تَجْعَلُونَهُ قُرْآنًا يَتَّبِعُونَ» (6:91). و بموجب این براهین بالغه خدایی معلوم است که این آسمان و زمینی که به شش روز آفریده اند نه این اسمان و زمین است که عوام چشم باش باز زده اند، که اگر خود همین بودی تدون و تخفون بودی و تخفون و تدون. و فرق خود نبودی میان تنزیل و تأویل و این اختصاص که «وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ» بجه حاجت بودی؟ نه، که این را معنی حقیقی هست و سر الاسراری که حق سبحانه و تعالی در سینة علمای دین معین و مبین گردانیده: «قُلْ كَفَىٰ بِاللَّهِ شَهِيدًا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكُمْ وَمَنْ عِنْدَهُ عِلْمُ الْكِتَابِ» (13:43). نمیگوید^۴ «وَمَنْ عِنْدَهُ ظَاهِرُ الْكِتَابِ»، که همه عرب و بسیاری در عجم خود دانند. مخصوص به آنکه یک کس داند چراست. اگرچه در فصول بچند جای معنی این آسمان و زمین تعیین نمودیم، اما اینجا بسوی تو روشن تر بفرماییم گفتن.

آسمان و زمین حکم ظاهر و باطن باش میخواهد، و این شش روز، روزهای پیمبران از آدم تا محمد مصطفی علیهم الصلوه و السلام. و مقدار هر روزی هزار سال: «إِنْ يَوْمًا عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ كَأَلْفِ سَنَةٍ مَّا تَعْدُونَ» (22:47). یعنی روزی ازین به نزدیک حق تعالی هزار سال است. و معلوم است که از آدم تا بمحمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه شش هزار سال است، و همچنانکه مراتب آفرینش چون نطفه و علقه که چون بشش میرسد در صورت تمام میشود، کار نبوت انبیاء بمحمد مصطفی تمام بوده است.

³ In the text: همین

⁴ In the text: همیگوید

و چون تمام را بتمامی دیگر حاجت نبوده است، ازینجا او را خاتم انبیا گفته اند. و همچنانکه در آفرینش چون بشش مرتبه رسید صورت تمام یافت، کمال از صورت «انشأناه خلقاً آخر» (23:14) بوده است. چنانچه در حق محمد مصطفی فرموده اند: «ولقد مرآه نزله اخیری عند سدره المنتهی» (53: 13-14)، که کمال ادوار شش گانه است و همچنانکه چون بانشأنا خلقاً آخر رسید از عالم روی بعالمی دیگر نهند، همچنین حال پیمبران چون بآن حکم رسد که «ولقد مرآه نزله اخیری» آنست که عالم ظاهر تنزیل قرآن که تمامت ادوار شرعی انبیاست روی بعالم باطن تأویل قرآن که قیامت است نهد. از اینجاست که پیمبر صلی الله علیه و آله گفته است که پس من پیمبری و شریعتی دیگر نباشد، الا قیامت و قائم. و شرف من بر دیگر پیمبران آنست که حکم هر پیمبری را پیمبر دیگر متصرف آن باشد، الا حکم من که تا بقیامت بماند، و متصرف در حکم من قائم قیامت؛ آنکس که «ومن عنده علم الکتاب». و چون تعیین «ومن عنده علم الکتاب» ازو می پرسند، بروایت عبدالله عباس، بذرده این عباسیان، میفرماید گفتن: «ذلک علی ابن ابی طالب». از اینجاست که مولانا علی میگوید که قرآن بحقیقت این است که در سینه من است. آنکه بر سر نیزه معاویه از عبارات بی این معنی هیچ رستگاری درش نباشد، که اگر بآن عبارت بی این معنی رستگاری یافتندی هفتاد و سه گروه مسلمان که همه این عبارات میخوانند و پارسیش بیشتر میدانند رستگار بودندی.

مقصود از این شرح آنست که تا ترا معلوم گردد که هم بموجب تنزیل قرآن درست کرده آمد که قرآن را تأویلی هست و این لفظ آسمان و زمین را که بشش روز آفریدیم هم از روی تأویل این تنزیل بدرست کرده آمد که نه این آسمان و زمین را بآش میخواهد. و چون در آسمان و زمین این برهان واضح معین کرده آمد، این برهان همچو دستوریست دیگر اسرار را. شمس و قمر آن آسمان و زمین دیگر است و شمس و قمر این آسمان و زمین دیگر. ازینجا او را که باصرة عقل است و درایت رأی، همه اسرار تنزیل او را ظاهر و معین شود. تو پنداری این که در حق پیمبر میفرماید «داعیاً الی الله باذنه و سراجاً منیراً» (33:46)، و جای دیگر «الشمس سراجاً» (71:16)، پیمبر این چنین چراغی بوده است که بشکل عوام بتصور کرده باشند که اینچنین آفتابی یا سراجی شکلی است؟ آن آفتاب دیگر است و این نور دیگر.

آنچه پرسیده است که «تبدل الامرض غیر الامرض» همین را بآش میخواهند که تنزیل را بتأویل بدل کنند، و شریعت بقیامت بدل کنند، دنیا بآخرت بدل کنند و از عالم تنزیل روی بعالم تأویل نهند، و از عالم شریعت روی بقیامت نهند، و از عالم دنیا روی بآخرت نهند.

تفسیر «اذا الشمس کورت و اذا النجوم انکدرت» که پرسیده است: یعنی تابش هفت ارکان شرعی از ظاهر تنزیل بتاب آفتاب عالم تأویل که عالم قیامت است ناپدید گردد. و آن ستارگان که مستمد و مستعدّه آن نور تنزیل بوده اند که چون فقهاء و علمای شرع نبوی همه بی نور گردند تا همه درخت کبریای نور قیامت که عالم وحدتست و بر زمرة «کلّ من

⁵ In the text: مشعبد

علیها فان ویغی وجه ربك ذوالجلال والاکرام» (55:27) فانی گردند: «کل شیء هالك الا وجهه» (28:88) «لن الملك الیوم لله الواحد القهار» (40:16).

آنچه پرسیده است که «اذا القبور بعثت» چه باش میخواید؛ چون در آسمان و زمین و آفتاب و ماهتاب و ستارگان گفته اند در قبور نیز هم بدان وجه باید دانستن، که این قبور نه آن قبور شکلی است. همچنانکه این قبور، قبور این شخص جسمی را باش میخواید که بعد از مفارقت جان تن را در آنجا دفن کنند. این شخص مردم قبر آن جان است. برانگیزانیدن از آن قبر تنبیه کردنست از آن گور جهالت. پیمبر صلی الله علیه و آله میفرماید گفتن: «الناس نیام فاذا ماتوا اتبه»، مردم خفته اند چون بمیرند دروهراسند. و پس میفرماید: «

ویل لمن اتبه بعد الموت»، وای بر آنکس که پس مرگ دروهراسند. و میگوید: «طوبی لمن اتبه قبل الموت» خنک آنکس که پیش از مرگ دروهراسند. پیش از مرگ دروهراسیدن از آن گور جهالت برانگیزانیدن است، و آن برانگیزاننده قائم قیامت است. اکنون این قیامت و این برانگیزاننده که پیش از مرگ سود دارد، پس مرگ سود ندارد و کار با سری شده باشد: «ما بعد الدینا دما الحنه ونامر». آن برانگیزاننده که خود سود دارد نیکانرا پیش از مرگ برانگیخته باشند، و جانهاشان بروشنایی عالم قیامت رسیده و بدان را آن وقت هیچ. اگر خواهند که دروهراسند نتوانند دروهراسیدن: «حیل بیتهم و بین ما یشتهون» (34:54). «کلما امرادوا ان یخرجوا منها اعدوا فیها و قبل لهم ذوقوا عذاب» (32:20).

آنچه پرسیده است از اسرار «اذا جاء ربك والملك صفًا و صفًا و جئ بالتبین»، آمدن حق سبحانه و تعالی نور وحدت قیامت است. نه این آمدن که عوام پندارند که حق سبحانه و تعالی ازین حالت استحاله شکلی جسمانی در نشو و نما و حرکات و سکون منزّه است: «الله المستعان علی ما تصفون» (12:18). و تفسیر «الملك صفًا و صفًا» هم نه این را باش میخواید که عوام ظاهر بآن تصور کرده اند که یکی را از آن ملک گویند که سرش بچهارم آسمان است و پرهایش بمشرق و مغرب و پایها بزمین. این چنین چیزی محسوس بلهول با خود هانواده اند که برای العین حسّی هیچ اشارتی محسوس نتوان کردن. حق سبحانه و تعالی میفرماید: «ولو جعلنا ملکاً لجعلناه مرجلاً» (6:9). زیرا مردم که احسن تقویم اند هیچ صورتی بالای مردمی نیکوتر بفرض ها نشاید نهادن، که اگر بودی احسن تقویم آن بودی نه این.

و آنکه پیش حق سبحانه و تعالی صف کشیده میشوند اتحادست بنور آفتاب اعظم قیامت از صفاء محض خدا. و آنکه پیمبران در عرصات قیامت اند هم نه آنچنانست که ایشان بتصور کرده اند. زنده بازگردانیدن پیمبران زنده بازکردن دعوت ایشان است، که هر کی ازیشان برموز و اشارات سخن گفته اند و قصد خبر داشته اند. این رمزها و اشارتها و قصدها بنور

⁶ In the text: بلی

قیامت که دعوت اعظم قائم قیامت است بمرموز و بمقصود بمشار الیه رسانند، و اختلاف عبارات که هر یک بوجهی دیگر گفته اند همه را باز گذارند: «وقضى بينهم بالحق وقيل الحمد لله رب العالمين» (39:75).

تفسیر «ونفخ في الصور فصعق من في السموات ومن في الارض»: این نفخ و این صاعقه هم نه آن چنانست که ظاهریان پندارند.⁷ معنی این نفخ که در فاتحه قیامت سرافیل قیامت بآن وجه که «لجعلناه ملكاً لجعلناه رجلاً» بیاید، و دعوتی بیارد که جمله خلق عالم را کائناً من کان که نشو آسمان و زمین اند بشش روز که روز ادوار شرعی است بتمام بوده است همه را بآن دعوت بمیراند. یعنی آن ظاهر شرع دنیاوی دردست ایشان شکند تا بار دویم که نفخه قیامت بنور دعوت قائم قیامت آن مردگان در گور جهالت ازان گورهای جهالت برانگیزانند، چنانچه در فاتحه این دعوت قائم آل محمد لذكره السجود سیدنا که نافخ صور قیامت است بدو کلمه همه خلق آسمان و زمین را بمیراند. و همچنانکه درین نفخ قائم آل محمد آن مردگانرا از گور جهالت بر انگیزانیده اند، چنانچه ترا این ساعت ازين سرالاسرار که خاطر تو بادراک آن عاجز است تنبیه میفرمایند، و ازان مردگی غفلت در گور جهالت برمی انگیزانند، تا نفس ناطقه تو ازين سرالاسرار چه خبر داشته است: «اولئك ينادون من مكان بعيد» (41:44). این نفخ و صاعقه هم برین وجه باید دانستن که میفرماید عزّ و علا.

در حال موسی و ندا و مناجات که چون او علیه السلام بمناجات میشود در اثنای استدعا می گوید: «رب امرني انظر اليك قال لن تراني ولكن انظر الى الجبل... جعله دكاً وخر موسى صعقاً. فلما افاق قال سبحانك تبت إليك» (7:143). درخواست کرده است که «بارخدا یا! بنمای مرا تا ترا ببینم». میگوید: «تو مرا نتوانی دیدن. لیکن درین کوه نظر کن. اگر بمکان خود بماند مرا بتوانی دیدن». پس چون از تجلی نور وحدت اثری بآن کوه فرمود رسانیدن، کوه هم درافتاد و هوش از موسی برفت. چون با هوش آمد دانست که او مرتبه او نیست که از ظاهر عالم شریعت نور وحدت قیامت تابد. از هوش برفتن حکم نفخ اول است و با هوش آمدن حکم نفخ دویم. در آن دور حکم جزوی بسوی کوه و موسی، و درین دور اعظم که موسی و دیگر پیمبران بشارت باین دور داده اند حکم کلی و بسوی همه اشخاص کاینات من کان که نشو آسمان و زمین عالم شریعت اند.

آنچه پرسیده است که از سدره المنتهی که حق سبحانه و تعالی از آنجا با محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه و آله خطاب فرمود، چه را باش میخواهد. آن میزان آسمان و زمین میزان کلی است که چون ترا دیدار نیک درافتد این همه اسرار بآن برتوانی کشیدن و با آن انداختن. همچنانکه آسمان و زمین نه این آسمان و زمین است، این درخت نه اینچنین درختی است محسوس که عوام بتصور کرده اند. چون از⁸ حق سبحانه و تعالی و سرای آخرتست، و سرای آخرت همه جانور باشند. اشجارش همه حیّ ناطق باشند: «ان الدامر الاخره لهی الحيوان لو كانوا يعلمون» (29:64). چون اشارت به فرشته ای کنند بحکم «ولو جعلناه ملكاً لجعلناه رجلاً» اشارت بآن درخت هم اشارت بمردی است متوسط میان خدا و خلق خدا. بزبان او به پیمبر

⁷ In the text: ظاهریان نهدارند

⁸ In the text: جواز

صلی الله علیه و آله گفته است: «مَثَلُ كُلِّ مَرءٍ طَبِيعُهُ كَشَجَرِهِ طَبِيعُهُ أَصْلُهُ ثَابِتٌ وَفَرْعُهُا فِي السَّمَاءِ» (14:24). عرش و کرسی و لوح و قلم هم برین قیاس می‌کن.

آنچه بجوار حق سبحانه و تعالی متصل و متحد است جمله با نور ناطق باشند. هیچ جمادی و مواتی را آنجا راه نیست. تو پنداری که آن درخت که از آنجا آواز آمد به موسی علیه السلام «أَنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ» (28:30) این چنین درختی منکوس بوده است؟ از احسن تقویم بصورت منکوس ندا چون فرماید؟ آنکه پیمبران و محبان محقق این چنین عبارات بازگفته اند بسبب ضعیفی عقلهای امت ایشان بوده است که قوت آن نداشته اند که احتمال آن کنند که او تعالی بزبان شخص انسانی نداء «أَنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ» گوید، تا لاجرم پوشیده می بایست داشت و میگفت که از درختی چنین آوازی بمن رسیده است تا آن عبارت از قبول کرده اند. اگر چشم خرد بازکنی اینجایگاه بسیار عجایبها هستی که بچشم حسّی هیچ بازخواند. اینجا بچشم زندگانی بینی که این زندگان بچشم عقل مردگان باشند و اینجا هم بچشم حسّ مردگانی بینی که بچشم عقلانی زندگان باشند. ازینجاست که حق سبحانه و تعالی پیمبر را میگوید: «وَتَرَاهُمْ يَنْظُرُونَ إِلَيْكَ وَهُمْ لَا يُنْظَرُونَ» (7:197). یعنی می بینی کسانی که در تو می نگرند و ترا نمی بینند. مثلاً این کافران، و حق سبحانه و تعالی بسوی ایشان میفرماید گفتن که «امواتٌ غَیْرُ أَحْیَاءٍ» (16:21): این کافران مرده اند نه زنده اند. و بسوی مؤمنان کشته میفرماید که «وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتٌ بَلْ أَحْیَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ فَرَحِينَ بِمَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ» (3:169-170). یعنی میندازید⁹ که اینانرا که براه خداشان کشته اند ایشان مرده اند، بلکه ایشان زنده اند با خرمی بسیار که حق سبحانه و تعالی ایشان را بدان مرزوق داشته است.

این را بکدام عقل متعارف ادراک خواهی کردن، آلاً با این آیند که امروز ما را با همه عالم می‌رود، و همه عالم را از ورطه ادناس شرک و کفر باقصای وحدت لایزالی میخوانیم. لَمَنْ كَانَ لَهُ قَلْبٌ أَوْ أَلْقَى السَّمْعَ وَهُوَ شَهِيدٌ» (50:37).

وصلی الله علی سید المرسلین محمد و آله طاهرین. حسبنا الله ونعم الوکیل، [نعم المولی و] نعم النصیر. الله بس و مابقی هوس.

⁹ In the text: پندارید

The End